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H I S T O R Y

OF THE

PRINCES OF SOUTH WALES.

BY THE

REV. THE HON. GEORGE T. O. BRIDGEMAN, M.A.

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MY DEAR EYTON,

As the following pages would never have been printed but for your encouragement and valuable assistance, I hope you will allow me to dedicate them to you. As you are aware, the subject was taken up by me many years ago when my time was more at my own disposal than it has been of late years. I have now availed myself of a short period of comparative rest to finish what I then began. My original purpose had been simply to identify the representation of certain princely families through the perplexing era of the Conquest of Wales, and, as far as I could, to rectify sundry errors with respect to their descent. In the course of time, however, I found myself possessed of a considerable number of original deeds bearing upon their earlier history and carrying me back to the time of their greater power when they ruled their respective dominions as independent sovereigns. This caused me to study Welsh history more closely, and induced me to trace their chequered fortunes through a longer period. In so doing I have endeavoured to separate the history of that portion of South Wales in which their territories lay from the general history of the Principality. During the earlier part of the narrative my information has been mostly taken from the Brut-y-Tywysogion or Chronicle of the British Princes, verified and supplemented by the accounts of such contemporary writers as treated of Wales and the Borders. During the latter part it has been chiefly extracted from original records. From this it will appear that the work pretends to no originality, being little more than a compilation of facts recorded by early historians or preserved in MS. among

the Royal Archives. Experience has taught me that the sources from which we derive our information are very different in value; I have, therefore, given copious references to my respective authorities, so that the reader may judge for himself of the amount of credibility due to them. To Welsh eyes the orthography will doubtless appear defective; but, in departing from the correct Welsh spelling, my object has been to bring the names of persons and places into better accordance with the official language, as made use of in the Latin medieval documents, and at that time of common acceptance between the English and the Welsh. This explanation may serve, perhaps, as a sufficient preface to the work. But I cannot conclude without expressing to you my most sincere thanks for the kind interest you have taken in its preparation for the press.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE T. O. BRIDGEMAN.

THE HALL, WIGAN,

SEPTEMBER 15, 1876.

THE REV. ROBERT W. EYTON,

IWERNE HOUSE, BLANDFORD.

INTRODUCTION.

The history of the subjugation of Wales has received such a very partial consideration from those who have written upon it as a detached page of British history, that it seems desirable to investigate it more closely, and to compare it with such original documents as we still possess. The chief difficulty which meets the student of Welsh medieval history is the scarcity of official deeds. The writings of the early chroniclers, though singularly faithful on the whole, cannot always be implicitly trusted, and it is not often that the facts they record can be authenticated by contemporaneous documents. Heraldic Pedigrees afford but little help; indeed they often serve rather to mislead than assist the enquirer; for though many of them have been preserved by their owners with praiseworthy care for several hundred years, they have been drawn up from the first with palpable inaccuracies and without any regard for dates.

The Royal House of Dynevor is the subject of our present enquiries. The history of this eminent race of Princes, who so long baffled all the efforts of the English monarchs to reduce them to subjection, has never been fully or separately written. I have here arranged such notes of their doings as I have been able to collect. Such notes were too scanty to have assumed the preferable form of personal biography; but I have endeavoured to follow these Princes through their highest and lowest estate, and afterwards to trace their descendants, from public records and other credible sources, to a period subsequent to the conquest of Wales by King Edward I, when they ceased to exist as independent rulers and are gradually lost sight of in general history.

Where more authentic documents have failed I have chiefly followed the Brut-y-Tywysogion: and as this is the source from which those who have written on the subject appear to have principally derived their earlier information, I have thought it advisable to adopt the phraseology of the ancient chronicler whenever it seemed to convey more accurately the true meaning of the original compiler. But whereas the first portion of this

memoir was nearly completed before the late accurate rendering of the Brut was given to the public, under the auspices of the Record commission,¹ I have in some cases retained the quaint language of Dr. Powel's version where no undue liberty appears to have been taken with the original.

In his preface to the History of Wales Dr. Powel says that one of the things which made him the more willing to publish his work was "the slanderous report of such writers as in their bookes do inforce everie thing that is done by the Welshmen to their discredit, leaving out all the causes and circumstances of the same: which [writers] doo most commonlie not onelie elevate or dissemble all the injuries and wrongs offered and done to the Welshmen, but also conceale or deface all the actes worthie of commendation atchieved by them." There is doubtless much of truth in these remarks. The want of faith with which the Welsh have been charged, by English historians, in dealing with their victorious rivals may fairly be attributed to the continued violence and oppression of those Norman adventurers, who first settled upon their lands and then availed themselves of every pretext to wrest them from their native owners. Nor were the Normans on their part a whit less scrupulous in breaking their treaties with the Welsh. We cannot be too thankful that England and Wales should have been thus early united under one common rule; but it does not become us as Englishmen to depreciate the conduct of a brave people in their long continued struggle for independence, nor to stigmatize them as mere rebels and truce-breakers, because they would not tamely submit to the tyranny of foreign oppressors. Nor yet must we lose sight of the fact that the unjust spoliations and robberies of the latter, if not actually encouraged, were generally overlooked and pardoned by the English monarchs, who professed to administer impartial justice, whilst the wrongs of the Welsh remained unredressed, and their just complaints too often unheeded.

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion, Edited by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, Rector of Llanymowddwy. 1860. Another version of the Brut, The Gwentian Chronicle, has been more recently published by the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1863. In my future references, where the Brut-y-Tywysogion is quoted, the former of these versions is ordinarily intended, and the other will be referred to as the Gwentian Chronicle.

HISTORY OF THE PRINCES OF SOUTH WALES.

CHAPTER I.

On the dissolution of the Roman power in Great Britain, at the close of the fourth century, the governments reverted to those Reguli who were descended from the ancient sovereigns. They had been but little interfered with, indeed, by the Romans, who, with a policy peculiar to themselves, permitted the kingly office, in the full extent of its ancient authority, to remain in many of the British provinces.¹ Thus Wales continued to be governed by several chieftains or petty kings who ruled over different portions of the country, until the whole was nominally united into one kingdom under the dominion of Roderic the Great, in the 9th century.

Roderic was the son of Mervyn Vrych (or the Freckled), the son of Gwyriad or Uriet, the son of Elidur, and so upwards in the right line to Belinus the brother of Brennus King of the Britaines.² His mother was Esyllt the daughter and heiress of Conan Tyndaethwy King or Prince of Gwyneth, the son of Roderic, the son of Edwal Ywrech, the son of Cadwalader last King of the Britaines.³ And his grandmother Nest, the mother of Mervyn, was the daughter of Cadell, Prince of Powis, the descendant of Brochwel Yscithroc, King or Prince of Powis.

Mervyn is said to have been slain in battle with Berthred King of Mercia; upon which Roderic succeeded to the dominion of North Wales. This battle is placed by the Brut-y-Tywysogion and Annales Cambriæ in 844; by the Gwentian Chronicle about 838. The Principality

¹ Warrington's Hist. of Wales, Vol. I. p. 33. ² Powel's Hist. of Wales (ed. of 1584), p. 19. ³ Ibid.

of Powis fell to him soon after in right of his grandmother Nest, the sister and heiress of Concenn ap Cadell, Prince of Powis, who died at Rome in 854.¹ And having married Angharad, the daughter of Meyric ap Dyfnwal, and sister and heiress of Gwgan ap Meyric, King of Cardigan,² who was drowned in 870 or 871,³ Roderic acquired the kingdom of Cardigan in her right, and thus became sovereign of all Wales; for the lesser chieftains of Dyvet, Gwent, Brecheinoc, and Morganwg are said to have acknowledged his supremacy. If Roderic had acted wisely in consolidating his dominions, his government might have been fixed upon a firmer basis and longer resisted the encroachments of its enemies. But he was induced to pursue an opposite course. He divided his kingdom into three principalities, which were governed during his lifetime by chieftains acting under his authority. This singular measure seems to have arisen from the narrow view that the Welsh, accustomed to be governed by their own rulers, ought not to yield obedience to a common sovereign.⁴

Roderic was slain about 876-7, in the 89th year of his age, while defending his country against the Saxons; and his kingdom was divided between his three eldest sons. To Anarawd the eldest he gave Gwyneth or North Wales, with a certain precedence or feudal superiority over his brethren: to Cadell, the 2nd son, he gave Deheubarth or South Wales: and to Mervyn, the 3rd, the principality of Powis. For each of these kingdoms he built a palace; for the King of North Wales at Aberfraw (in the isle of Anglesea); for the King of South Wales at Dinevawr (in Caermarthenshire); for the King of Powis at Mathraval (in Montgomeryshire).⁵ He further ordained that when any difference should arise between the Princes of North and South Wales the three should meet at Bwlch-y-Pawl, and the Prince of Powis should be umpire. But if the Princes of North Wales and Powis fell at variance, they should meet at Dôl Rhianedd on the bank of the river Dee, where the Prince of South Wales was to adjust the controversy; and if the quarrel happened between the Princes of Powis and South Wales, the

¹ Brut-y-Tywyssogion (Record Edition). ² Meyrick's Cardigan. ³ Brut-y-Tywyssogion. ⁴ Warrington's Hist. of Wales, Vol. I., p. 212. ⁵ Meyrick's Cardigan, p. xxvi. Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 25.

meeting was to be appointed at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, where it was to be decided by the Prince of North Wales. These sons of Roderic were called the three crowned princes, on account of their being the first to wear diadems around their crowns, like kings in other countries, before which the kings and princes of the Welsh wore only golden bands.¹

Thus did Wales become divided into three distinct sovereignties, almost, if not entirely, independent of each other. Roderic had enjoined, indeed, that if any one of these states should be invaded by a foreign enemy the others should come to its assistance: but there was no real bond of union between them; and there can be no question that this partition of power, followed as it was by future sub-division of territory according to the principle of the law of gavelkind, proved utterly ruinous to the interests of the country.² As long as it remained united under one rule its collective strength was sufficient to afford security against foreign aggression, and at the same time to overawe the ambition of the tributary chieftains. But its separation into petty states not only divided its interests and led to perpetual jealousies and contests between the states themselves, but so weakened the power of the princes as to render them unable to curb the ambition of their refractory vassals, who constantly took part against their suzerain, and thus prepared the way for the Norman invaders.

Cadell, the 2nd son of Roderic, succeeded to the kingdom of South Wales, which was called Deheubarth, as lying to the South of the other provinces. The residence of the princes of this country was at Dynevor (Dinevawr or Dinas Vawr, the Great Palace), on the bank of the river Towy in Carmarthenshire where a palace had been erected by Roderic. This District, the Demetia of the Romans, consisted of 26 cantreds or hundreds, containing 81 commots.³ It was encompassed by the Irish Sea, the

¹ Gwentian Chronicle. ² The law of gavelkind, by which each son claimed a share of his father's inheritance, continued in force till the 34th of Hen. VIII, when it was abolished by statute.—(Penny Cyclopædia). ³ Wales was anciently divided into cantrefs (or cantreds) and commots. The cantref (as its name implies) was originally composed of one hundred trefs or townships. These cantrefs were subdivided into two or more commots, which severally maintained their own courts and jurisdictions; and thus each commot became a separate manor or lordship. Some of these original commots were afterwards further subdivided, at a later period, as was frequently the case

Severn, and the rivers Wye and Dovey. This, though the greatest kingdom of Wales, yet, says Powel "was it not the best, as Giraldus witnesseth, cheefelie bicause it was much molested with Flemings and Normans, and also that in divers parts thereof the lords would not obey their Prince, as in Gwent and Morganwg, which was to their owne confusion." Deheubarth was divided into six parts, viz., Caredigion, Dyvet, Caermardhyn, Morganwg, Gwent, and Brecheinoc, which were nearly identical with the present counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Brecknock. But these territories were gradually wrested from the descendants of Roderic until Cardigan and Carmarthen and a small portion of Pembroke alone remained to them.

The fatal policy of Roderic, in dividing his dominions, soon became apparent from the conduct of his sons. For in 892-3 we find Anarawd uniting with the English against his brother Cadell; when they invaded his territory with their joint forces and devastated the country of Cardigan and the vale of Towy.¹ And again we find Cadell, Prince of South Wales taking forcible possession of Powis on the death of his brother Mervyn in 901.

Cadell, son of Roderic the great, died in the year 907, leaving three sons, Howel Dha (*i.e.* Howel the good) Meyric and Clydawc; of whom the latter was killed by his brother Meyric about the year 917.²

Howel, the eldest son of Cadell, succeeded to his father's dominions in South Wales and Powis, to which, on the death of his cousin Edwal Foel, prince of Gwyneth, in 941-2, he added the principality of North Wales, and thus, for a time, again united the territories of his grandfather Roderic. He was elected to the sovereignty of Wales in preference to the sons of Edwal on account of his talent and character, the exigency of the times, and

with English manors; and every such respective portion was then styled a commot or manor of itself. This division into cantrefs and commots continued intact until after the conquest of Wales by King Edward I, who, in the twelfth year of his reign, passed a statute, known as the statute of Rhuddlan, by which those parts of Wales which had not already been recognized as Lordships Marcher, were formed into counties like those in England. And as the territories which had pertained to the princes of the House of Dynevor were then in possession of the crown, either by forfeiture, attainder, or submission, the two present counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen were created out of them. The same boundaries were for the most part retained until the Welsh counties were divided into hundreds in the reign of King Henry VIII.

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Ibid; Annales Cambriæ.

the minority of the right heir to the Northern principality.¹

The reign of Howel Dha forms a new era in the history of Wales. Great disorders and inconveniences had been long felt from the undefined nature of the existing laws and their inadequacy to meet the changes which had been introduced by the progress of society: and Howel, who had travelled to Rome in the year 926 and had thus become acquainted with the institutions of other countries, justly considered that the greatest benefit he could confer on his country would be to form a regular written code suited to the habits and circumstances of the times. Accordingly he sent "for the Archbishop of Menevia (St. David's) and all the other Bishops and chiefe of the cleargie to the number of 140, and all the barons and nobles of Wales, and caused sixe men of the wisest and best esteemed in everie comote to be called before him, whome he commanded to meete all together at his house called Y Tuy gwyn ar Taf, that is, The White House upon the river Taf. Thither he came himselfe, and there remained with those his nobles, prelates, and subjects, all the Lent, in praier and fasting, craving the assistance and direction of God's Holy Spirit, that he might reforme the lawes and customes of the countrie of Wales, to the honor of God, and the quiet government of the people. About the end of Lent he chose out of that companie twelve men of the wisest, gravest, and of the greatest experience: to whome he added one clearke or doctor of the lawes, named Blegored, a singular learned and perfect wise man. These had in charge to examine the old lawes and customes of Wales, and to gather out of those such as were meete for the government of the countrie: which they did, reteining those that were wholesome and profitable, expounding those that were doubtfull and ambiguous, and abrogating those that were superfluous and hurtfull."²

This code, having received the judgment and verdict of the country in the national assembly, was established throughout Wales in every lordship, and in the court of every lord and of every tribe. It continued in force throughout the principality till the subjugation of Wales by Edward I, and was retained in some districts until

¹ Jones' Hist. of Wales, p. 51. ² Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 44.

the final union with England in the reign of Henry VIII. It has been pronounced to be the most complete of any ancient code known; and the laws possess considerable interest from the picture they exhibit of the manners and customs of the age.

In 943 died Elen, wife of Howel Dha;¹ and Howel himself died in 948,² after a long and peaceful reign, in which he had carefully studied the best interests of his country, and secured the respect and confidence of his subjects. His death, says Powel, "was sore bewailed of all men, for he was a prince that loved peace and good order, and that feared God."

He left eight sons,³ Owen, Run, Roderic, Dyfnwal, Edwyn, Cynan, Meredith, and Eineon, who, relinquishing the kingdom of North Wales to Jevaf and Iago, the sons of Edwal Foel, divided amongst them the principalities of South Wales and Powis.

Owen took the rule of Cardigan⁴ and succeeded to the chief dominion in South Wales; but he was not left long in peaceable possession; for Jevaf and Iago, who had assumed the government of North Wales to the exclusion of their elder brother Meyric, laid claim to the whole principality; and having raised an army they invaded Cardigan, defeated the sons of Howel after a sanguinary battle on the hills of Carnau, and cruelly devastated the land of Dyvet. This was in the year 949; and in the following year they came a second time to Dyvet (or Pembrokeshire) which they pillaged, and slew Dynwallon the Prince thereof. On this occasion "Owen, prince of Cardigan collected an army against them, and followed them back to Gwynedd so closely that many of them were drowned in the river Dyvi."⁵

In the year 951, died Dyfnwal and Roderic, two of the sons of Howel Dha.⁶ And in the year ensuing "Owen ap Howel Dha led an army into Gwynedd, and there the action of Aberconwy took place, in which such a slaughter was made that both parties were obliged to retreat from the losses they sustained in that battle."⁷ At this time, or not long after, died Edwyn another of the sons of Howel Dha.⁸

1 and 2 Gwentian Chronicle. 3 Jones' Hist. of Wales. 4, 5, and 7 Gwentian Chronicle, p. 25. 6 and 8 Brut-y-Tywysogion, p. 22.

In the year 953 the Princes of Gwyneth once more invaded Cardigan; and the sons of Howel drove them back with great slaughter.¹ These disastrous conflicts, however, ultimately terminated in favour of Jevaf and Iago, who succeeded in establishing their power over the whole of Wales, and held the kingdom of Dynevor for several years.²

Owen ap Howel Dha, being thus driven from his own country, turned his attention to another quarter. In the year 958 he invaded the territory of Morgan Mawr Prince of Glamorgan, over whose family the Princes of Dynevor had formerly held a feudal supremacy, and took possession of the districts of Ystradyw and Ewyras in the vale of Usk, which he claimed as his right. The claim was referred to Edgar King of England, who gave his award in favour of Morgan;³ and Owen was obliged to retire. In 962 Owen, with the other Princes of Wales, was compelled to pay tribute to Edgar.⁴ The two Princes of North Wales having afterwards quarrelled, Owen appears to have seized this opportunity to regain his kingdom; and not long after, about the year 967, his eldest son Eineon further availed himself of these distractions to put the land of Gower to tribute. This Prince, who died in his father's lifetime, is spoken of as a young man of high promise and a leader of great judgment and personal bravery. When the Danes invaded Pembroke in 981 and laid the church of St. David in ruins, they were checked by Eineon and defeated at Caer Faes in the parish of Llanwenog in the county of Cardigan.⁵ In that or the following year the Saxons entered Wales and laid waste the land of Brecknock and all the territory of Eineon,⁶ who collected his forces to oppose them. A hard fought battle ensued, in which the Saxons were defeated and put to flight.⁷ Soon after this victory his spirited career was brought to a sudden termination. "The year

¹ Gwentian Chronicle, p. 27. ² Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 50. ³ Liber Landavensis, p. 512. Caradoc's Chronicle in the Myfyrian Archæology. ⁴ The singular tribute which Edgar exacted from the Welsh Princes, and which was imposed in lieu of a more ancient one to which he claimed a right, was the yearly payment of 300 wolves' heads. The natural result of this tribute was that, after it had been paid for three or four years, the wolves were nearly extirpated from the country. ⁵ Jones' Hist. of Wales. ⁶ Brut-y-Tywysogion. This invasion has been by some placed in the time of Howel Dha: but Edgar did not begin his reign until 958 (*Carte* i. 330); For an explanatory note on this point I would refer the reader to Rees' South Wales, p. 565, and the Liber Landavensis, p. 512. ⁷ Jones' Hist. of Wales.

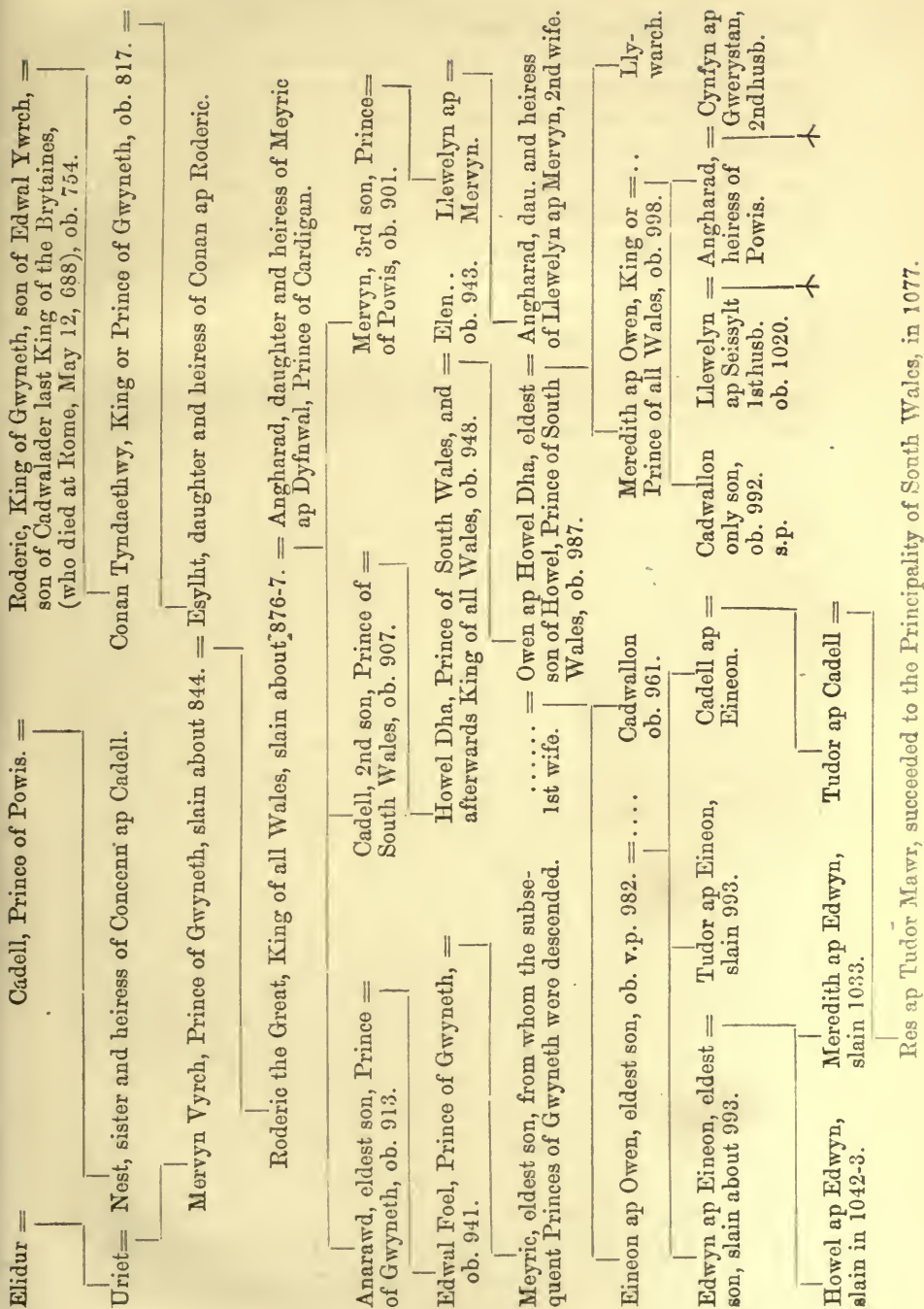
following," says Powel, "the gentlemen of Gwentsland rebelled against their prince, and cruellie slew Eneon the son of Owen which came thither to appease them." This Eneon, Eineon, or Æneas, who was thus slain in 982, is described by Powel as "a worthie and noble gentleman, who did manie notable actes in his father's time;" and our author further informs us that he left behind him "two sonnes Edwyn and Theodor or Tewdor Mawr, of whom came afterwards the kings or princes of South Wales." This statement has been usually accepted; but it is highly improbable that Tudor the son of Eineon should have been the father of Res ap Tudor Mawr. Giraldus, as I think, more correctly, informs us that Eineon had *three* sons Edwyn, Tudor, and Cadell; of whom Cadell was the father of Tudor the father of the celebrated Res-ap-Tudor Mawr.¹ Tudor the son of Eineon was slain at the battle of Llangwm in 993.²

Eineon ap Owen ap Howel Dha was succeeded in the command of his father's forces by his half brother Meredith, the son of Owen by his second wife Angharad the daughter and heiress of Llewelyn ap Mervyn, who should have been Prince of Powis. Owen ap Howel Dha died in 987,³ having had four sons, Eineon who died in his father's lifetime, Cadwallon who died in 961,⁴ Meredith, and Llywarch who had his eyes put out by Godfrey son of Harold in 986.⁵

Upon the death of Owen, his son Meredith, who had previously slain Cadwallon ap Jevaf the reigning Prince of North Wales and assumed the government of North Wales and Powis, possessed himself also of the kingdom of South Wales to the exclusion of the sons of Eineon his elder brother.

South Wales was, about this time, again attacked by the Danes who committed dreadful ravages, and Meredith had hardly freed himself from these foreign enemies before he was called upon to defend himself against his nephew Edwyn ap Eineon, who had raised an army to support his claim to the throne. Edwyn, having obtained succour from the Saxons and Danes, laid waste the

¹ Leland's collectanea Vol. III. p. 74; Ex libro Giraldi Cambrensis de descriptione Cambriæ ad Hugonem Episcopum Lincolnensem. ² and ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion.
⁴ Gwentian Chronicle. ⁵ Powel's Hist. of Wales.



territories of Meredith, namely Cardigan, Dyvet, Menevia, Lower Gower, and Kidwelly; but a reconciliation was effected between the uncle and nephew which put an end to hostilities; and their friendship was cemented in the following year, 992, by the death of Cadwallon the only son of Meredith, which opened to Edwyn the prospect of his future succession.

Edwal ap Meyric the rightful heir of North Wales recovered his kingdom from Meredith ap Owen in 993. "And in the same year Meredyth gathered together all his power, intending to recover againe North Wales, with whom Edwal met at Lhangwm, [in Denbighshire] and overthrew him in plaine battell," where Tudor, son of Eineon ap Owen, Meredith's nephew was slain.¹

Edwyn the eldest son of Eineon ap Owen also fell soon after at the battle of Clunog, in the same county, where his monument is still to be seen, bearing the inscription "Edwini occisio,"—the slaughter of Edwyn.² Edwyn left two sons Howel and Meredith, who long strove for the recovery of their kingdom, but only obtained possession for a few years. Meredith was slain in 1033 and his brother Howel in 1042-3.³ Their uncle Meredith ap Owen died in 998, leaving an only daughter Angharad, who married first Llewelyn ap Seisylt by whom she had a son Griffith ap Llewelyn; and secondly Conwyn ap Gwerystan, by whom she was mother of Blethin and Rhiwallon who eventually succeeded to their mother's dominion of Powis. In the meantime the government of South Wales was assumed by Aeddan ap Blegored upon the death of Meredith ap Owen; and from this time forward the history of the country is one continued record of civil warfare and bloodshed, until the rightful succession was at length restored in the person of Res ap Tudor Mawr in the year 1077.

The intermediate period is remarkable for the conquest of England by William of Normandy, and, as a natural consequence, the commencement of that series of spoliation and encroachment upon the Marches of Wales by his Norman followers which in a few years made them masters of its most valuable possessions. During the 79 years

¹ Powell's Hist.; Gwentian Chronicle. ² Jones' Hist. of Wales, p. 56. ³ Brut-y-Tywysoegion.

which intervened from the death of Meredith ap Owen to the accession of Res ap Tudor Mawr, South Wales was successively governed by Aeddan ap Blegored, Llewelyn ap Seisylt, Rytherch ap Jestyn, Howel and Meredith the sons of Edwyn ap Eineon ap Owen, Griffith ap Llewelyn ap Seisylt,¹ Meredith ap Owen ap Edwyn, Blethin ap Conwyn, Caradoc ap Griffith ap Rytherch, then jointly by Res ap Owen ap Edwyn and Rytherch ap Caradoc until Res ap Owen, the survivor of them, was overthrown by Trahaern ap Caradoc, in 1077; after which Res ap Tudor was acknowledged Prince of South Wales.

The brave Res is said, by Powel and others who have followed him, to have been the son of Tudor ap Eineon ap Owen ap Howel Dha, which Tudor fell at the battle of Llangwm in 993. But this is scarcely reconcilable with dates as it would suppose Res to have been nearer 90 than 80 at the time of his accession. It is far more probable that he should have been (as stated by Giraldus) the son of Tudor, *son of Cadell*, son of Eineon ap Owen ap Howel Dha.² All however agree in deducing his descent from Eineon ap Owen ap Howel Dha, and making him the rightful heir to the principality of South Wales.

"In the year 1077," says Powel, "Rees the sonne of Theodor as right inheritour to the kingdome of South Wales claimed the same, and the people received him with much joie, and made him their Prince." "In him," says Yorke, "the legal succession was restored: he was moreover the choice of the people."³ According to Vaughan of Hengwrt the immediate territories of this Prince, who is known as the founder of the 2nd Royal Tribe of Wales, consisted only of the present counties of Cardigan and Caermarthen: as Pembroke, Brecknock, Gwent, and Glewising (or Herefordshire) were governed by their several reguli. There can be but little doubt, however, that all these acknowledged the sovereign authority of the superior Prince of South Wales.⁴

Res had scarcely secured himself on his throne before

¹ Oct. 24, 1055, is the date of a battle two miles from Hereford, wherein Griffin, King of Wales, defeated the English commanded by Algar Earl of Mercia, and Rodolph (sometimes called Earl of Hereford), nephew of King Edward the Confessor. (Ex. inf. Rev. R. Eyton.) ² Leland's Collectanea III, p. 74. ³ Royal Tribes of Wales. ⁴ Warrington's Wales.

he was called to the assistance of another Prince, who, like himself, had been kept from his lawful inheritance. Griffith ap Cynan, called the Founder of the 1st Royal Tribe of Wales, was the son of Cynan ap Iago, ap Meyric, ap Edwal Foel, ap Anarawd, the eldest son of Roderic the Great, and rightful heir to the throne of Gwyneth. In the year 1080 he landed in Pembrokeshire, with an army of Irish Scots, and being joined by Res ap Tudor, he marched against Trahaern the ruling Prince of North Wales, and engaged him on the hills of Carnau, in Cardiganshire. In this battle Trahaern was slain; and the fortunes of that field established Res and Griffith upon their respective thrones.

It was in this same year (according to the Welsh Chronicle, but more correctly in 1081) that William the Conqueror came into Wales with a great army. The Welsh were unprepared for resistance; and, as he met with no opposition, he retired from the country, after receiving the homage of the native Princes, and making an offering at the shrine of St. David.¹ King William I.

¹ We gather something of the state of the Welsh Border in the year 1085 from the following notes supplied by Domesday. The county of Monmouth is not surveyed: but under Gloucestershire we have a detailed notice of the Castle and Chatellany of "Estrighoiel." The Castle had been built (between 1066 and 1070) by Earl William fitz Osbern, whose son Roger, Earl of Hereford, had lost Strigoil and everything, by his treason in 1074. The chief Norman occupants of Strigoil and other Monmouthshire territory were, in 1085, (1) the King himself, as having the Fief of Earl Roger by Escheat. (2) Durandus Sheriff of Gloucestershire. (3) Geoffrey de Moubray, Bishop of Coutances. (4) Roger de Berkeley. (5) William de Eu. (6) Roger de Lacy. (7) Turstin fitz Rou; and (8) Alured of Spain. Domesday records of four vills which had been in charge of one or other of K. William's *Præpositi*, that they were destroyed (*Vastatæ*) by King Caraduech. Among the King's Theyns of Gloucestershire only one of Welsh origin appears. *Madoch tenet de Rege Rudeford* (In Botelau Hundred). *Ipsæ tenuit. T.R.E.*

The Herefordshire Domesday shows the Conqueror on better terms with his Welsh neighbours. The Province of Arcenefelde was tenanted by Welsh and English indiscriminately. Each population was governed by its own national laws and customs; but the Executive in both was with the King's officers. The Priests of the Arcenefelde churches were by prescription the King's Ambassadors for Wales; when the King invaded Wales proper, they formed the Vanguard of his host; when he retreated, they formed the Rear-guard. For some great Section of this Province of Arcenefelde, *Riset de Wales*, as he is called, paid King William an annual tribute of £40. But a more remarkable feature of the Herefordshire Domesday is that Griffin Son of Mariadoc is registered as a tenant *in capite*, with a Fief of seven Herefordshire manors, all of which had been held under Edward the Confessor by Saxons rather than by Welshmen. What is said of two of these manors was doubtless true of all, viz. that Earl William gave them to King Mariadoc; that is, William fitz Osbern, in his palatinate power, and between the years 1066 and 1070, had thus enfeoffed a native King of Wales. And it seems that King William,—when in 1074 Fitz Osbern's Earldom reverted to the crown,—had respected the act of his greatest Lieutenant, nay, he had exempted King Mariadoc's Herefordshire Fief from the payment of Danegeld, and had conceded the same immunity to Mariadoc's Son, Griffin,—“*Rez. W. Condonavit geldum Regi Mariadoc et postea filio ejus.*” (Ex. inf. Rev. R. Eyton.)

It is difficult to identify these Welsh Magnates whose names occur in the Domesday

died in Normandy, on Sept. 9, 1087; and was succeeded by his son William Rufus. "On the death of the Conqueror, the spirit and genius of the Welsh nation revived, and with it revived also the variety of evils which are incidental to intestine divisions."¹

In 1087, after the death of King William the Conqueror, the sons of Blethin ap Convyn, who had formerly ruled over all Wales, gathered their forces together against Res ap Tudor; and Res, being unable to cope with them, escaped to Ireland, from whence he obtained assistance and returned to South Wales with an army of Irish Scots: "which when his freends hard of, they drew to him, and the other came in hast, thinking to fight with him before his power should increase, and at Lechrhyd they gave him battell."² In this engagement the usurpers were defeated; two of the sons of Blethin were slain, and the other "fled and forsooke the countrie."³ As soon as Res was in quiet possession of this kingdom, he sent home his auxiliaries with great rewards. But the turbulent spirit of his vassals allowed him only a short interval of repose. A circumstance shortly occurred which produced a most important and decisive change in the affairs of South Wales, and tended in no small degree to bring about the final overthrow of Cambrian liberty. Eineon and Llewelyn, the sons of Cedivor, Lord of Dyvet, and their uncle Eineon ap Collwyn, brother to Cedivor, chiefs of some eminence in South Wales, rose in rebellion against Res ap Tudor, and prevailed on Griffith ap Meredith, another southern chieftain, to join their revolt. The rebels were quickly defeated; Llewelyn and Eineon, the sons of Cedivor were slain, Griffith ap Meredith was taken and beheaded as a traitor, and Eineon ap Collwyn fled to Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Prince of Morganwg (or Glamorgan). This magnate, whose proud spirit could not submit to a feudal superior, was also in arms against the Prince of

Record. King Caraduech was probably Caradoc, son of Griffith ap Rhydderch ap Jestyn, whose territory was Ystradyw, Gwent Ucheoed, and Gwynllwg (*liber Landavensis*, p. 550). Riset de Wales may have been Res ap Tudor Mawr; and Griffin son of King Mariadoc may, perhaps, have been the same with Griffith ap Meredith who joined Eineon ap Collwyn in his rebellion against Prince Res ap Tudor, by whom he was taken and beheaded after the death of William the Conqueror.

¹ Warrington's Wales. ² Powell's Hist. of Wales. The village of Llechrhyd is situated on the banks of the Teify, about three miles from Cardigan, where Res would have probably landed on his return from Ireland. ³ Powell's Hist.

South Wales; and Eineon, who had served with the Normans under William the Conqueror, engaged, upon certain conditions agreed upon between them, to bring an English army to their assistance. By this agreement it was stipulated, on the part of Jestyn, that Eineon should receive the daughter of Jestyn in marriage, with the lordship of Meisgyn for her dower. Eineon prevailed upon Robert fitz Hamon and other Norman knights to come to their aid, and with these reinforcements they invaded the territories of Res, burned and spoiled his land, and destroyed his people. The aged Prince of South Wales marched in person against the rebels, and meeting them upon the black mountain near Brecknock, engaged them, with an army far less in number than that of his adversaries, and was defeated.¹ In this battle, which was bravely contested by the Welsh, the old and gallant Res is said by some to have fallen. But it is more probable, as asserted by others, that he survived this defeat to perish a few months later while assisting his brother-in-law Blethin ap Maenarch, Lord of Brecknock, against Bernard Newmarch, and a fresh horde of Norman adventurers. The date of this last battle has been attributed to the year 1093. Mr. Jones, the historian of Brecknock, indeed, conjectures that it happened a few years earlier, and asserts that there are grants by Bernard Newmarch in Brecknockshire, as early as 1088;² but Florence of Worcester, a contemporary writer who appears to have been well acquainted with the affairs of Wales, places the death of Res in 1093, and says that he was slain in battle near the castle of Brecknock, "*in ipsa hebdomada Paschali.*"³ We can hardly doubt such respectable authority; but it is by no means improbable that Bernard Newmarch may have obtained some footing in the land of Brecknock before this decisive battle was fought.

With Res, says Powel, "fell and decaied the kingdome of South Wales." The same author informs us that he had, by his wife [Gladys], the daughter and heiress of Rhiwalhon ap Conwyn, "a sonne called Gruffyth, who at his father's death was but a verie child, and one Grono

¹ Warrington's Hist. of Wales.

² Jones' Hist. of Brecknock, Vol. I, p. 88.

³ Florence of Worcester, Vol. II, p. 31.

that was in the king's prison." From the Brut, however, I should infer that Grono was taken prisoner about the year 1102, and probably died soon afterwards in captivity.¹ Another son, Howel, is afterwards mentioned by the chronicler as the companion of his brother Griffith ap Res in his struggles to regain his father's kingdom.² There was also a daughter Nest, who was married first to Gerald de Windsor, constable of Pembroke (to whom she is said to have brought Carew Castle with seven manors in Dyvet, or West Wales, as her dower); and secondly to Stephen, Constable of Cardigan.³

The heralds give, as the issue of Res ap Tudor and his wife Gladys one son, Griffith ap Res, and four daughters, Gwenllian, Nest, Eva, and Arddyn.⁴

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion, compared with general history. ² Powel's Hist. of Wales.
³ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II, Vol. II, p. 165. The Marquis of Kildare makes Stephen Constable of Cardigan to have been the first husband, and Gerald de Windsor the second. (*Earls of Kildare and their ancestors*, p. 3.) But Lord Lyttelton's statement is borne out by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Conquest of Ireland*, chap. 13), who writes concerning the arrival in Ireland of Redmond le Grosse, that "he was nephew to Robert fitz Stephen, and to Maurice fitz Gerald, being the son unto their elder brother William," (i.e. William fitz Gerald, who assumed the surname of de Carrio, eldest son of Gerald de Windsor, and ancestor of the family of Carew of Haecombe). It has been asserted by some that Nest or Nesta the daughter of Res ap Tudor, who was a woman of great beauty, was mistress of King Henry I, and mother of his eminent son Robert de Caen, Earl of Gloucester, but this is very questionable. As Robert de Caen obtained, through his wife, the lands of Robert fitz Hamon and his Welsh acquisitions the Welsh wished to create for him a Welsh pedigree. Thus they have also found a Welsh wife (Gladys daughter of Rhiwallon) for Gerald de Windsor's father, i.e. for Walter fitz Otho. But the only proved wife of Walter, and the mother of his eldest son William, was Beatrice by name. (*Hist. Abingdon*.) ⁴ Heraldic Visitations of Wales, by Lewys Dwnn, Ed. by Sir Samuel Meyrick, Vol. II, p. 99.

CHAPTER II.

The death of Res was a sore disaster to his country, which never afterwards recovered the position it had held under his rule. The Norman adventurers who had assisted Jestyn ap Gwrgan received their pay and returned to their ships; but South Wales was not destined to be quit of them so easily. Eineon ap Collwyn went to Jestyn to claim his daughter in marriage, and the portion he had promised to give with her; but Jestyn refused, and laughed at Eineon, saying that he would do better with his daughter than bestow her on a traitor to his country and his lord. At this Eineon was greatly enraged, and burning with resentment he went after Robert fitz Hamon and his company, and related to them the insult he had received, and likewise represented to them the great dislike of the principal men of that country to Jestyn, the fertility of the country, and the ease with which it might be wrested from Jestyn, who, on account of his treachery and deceit, would meet with no assistance from any of the Welsh Princes. The Normans joyfully listened to Eineon, and willingly followed his advice. Eineon then gathered together such of the nobles as were disaffected to Jestyn, with whom he joined the Normans, and taking him unprepared, they soon dispossessed him of his territory of Glamorgan, which fitz Hamon divided amongst his followers, reserving all the rich and fertile parts for the Normans, and leaving the rough and barren mountains to the share of Eineon.¹

This invasion was speedily followed by others of a similar nature. Brecknock, as we have seen, had already fallen a prey to another set of Norman adventurers under Bernard Newmarch who subdued the country and held it as a lordship marcher under the King of England. And these brilliant conquests induced several Norman

¹ Gwentian Chronicle. It is said that Eineon received from the conqueror the hand of Jestyn's daughter and with her the lordship of Meisgyn.

warriors to apply to the King for a licence to possess such lands as they might win for themselves in Wales. Thus Martin de Turribus effected a landing at Fishguard, then called Abergwayn, in Dyvet or West Wales. Here he settled with his followers, and, partly by conquest, partly by the consent of the inhabitants, carved his Barony of Kemaes out of the Northern portion of Dyvet (or Pembrokeshire), where he assumed the powers of a lord Marcher.¹ Cardigan and the remaining portion of Dyvet were also disposed of by anticipation, and respectively granted to Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his son Arnulph, with leave to conquer them for themselves. Nor did they long remain inactive, for we find them speedily gaining a footing within the coveted possessions, where they built, among others, the castles of Cardigan and Pembroke.

These early successes on the part of the Normans, however, were followed by temporary reverses. The Welshmen of the South, who, for want of a leader, had hitherto failed to make head against the invaders, being stung to the quick by the galling yoke which they were made to bear, now laid aside their differences. In the year 1094, under the leadership of Cadogan ap Blethin ap Conwyn, Prince of Powis, they rose in arms against their foreign masters, and drove them from their newly acquired possessions in Cardigan and Dyvet, where they destroyed all their castles but those of Pembroke and Rhyd-y-Gors, and returned home with great spoils. William was at this time in Normandy, whither he had gone to oppose his brother Robert. The King's absence and the simultaneous disaffection of his English barons encouraged the Welshmen to extend their victorious arms to other quarters; and, not content with ravaging the territories acquired by the Normans in North

¹ Fenton's Pembrokeshire, p. 521. This able writer says that the death of Rhys ap Twdwr and the feebleness of the government during the minority of his son had thrown such a damp over the Welsh as to render the conquest of this and the surrounding country easy for a time; but as soon as the young Prince [Griffith] was in a position to vindicate his rights and appear in arms the nominal conqueror of Cemaes could scarce call his newly acquired possessions his own for the whole of Gruffydd ap Rhys' reign, and part of his son's, till by the marriage of William Martin with the daughter of the Lord Rhys [Grandson of Res ap Tudor], out of respect to that alliance, and influenced by a mutual convention then entered into with reciprocal advantages, the people of Cemaes began to be reconciled to their new masters, now acknowledged by the title and with the full power of Lords Marchers.

Wales, they penetrated the border counties of Chester, Salop, and Hereford, where they put the inhabitants to fire and sword.¹ The Normans in South Wales on their part laid waste the districts of Gower, Kidwelly, and the vale of Towy, which "remained a desert."² This was the state of affairs when King William returned from Normandy on December 29, 1094 (iv. Kal. Januarii), and we find him speedily raising an army to chastise the Welshmen. But they, retiring to their mountain fastnesses, were enabled to hold their enemies at defiance; and William, unable to meet with them except in the straits of the mountains, or in the passage of rivers, where they attacked him at a disadvantage and killed many of his men, returned home before Easter with ignominy. At the latter end of the same year, 1095, after Michaelmas, he made another inglorious campaign against the Welsh; who, planning their defence in the same manner, cut off his provisions and harassed his army so continually, that, after passing through their country as far as Snowdon without having an opportunity of a pitched battle, he was obliged to retire with no better success than before.³ A similar fate attended a subsequent expedition into Wales with a royal army in 1097. But that which he failed to accomplish by a direct invasion he effected more safely through the repeated and persevering aggressions of the Lords Marchers, to whom he held out every inducement to harass and destroy the hated Welshmen.

In the meantime the natives of Brecknock, Gwent, and Gwentlwg, encouraged by the example of their fellow-countrymen and the death of William fitz Baldwyn, an able and active knight who had founded the castle of Rhyd-y-Gors, rose against their conquerors and threw off the Norman yoke. The English troops who were sent into Gwent to reduce them to obedience were met, on their return from a fruitless expedition, by a party of Welsh, and slain at a place called Celli Darvog.⁴

During the year 1095 the star of the Welsh was in the

¹ Carte's History of England, vol. I, p. 466, compared with the Brut-y-Tywysogion, Walter de Hemingburgh, and Florence of Worcester. The Saxon Chronicle also implies that at this juncture Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, was unsuccessful against Wales. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ Carte's History of England, p. 466; Florence of Worcester, Vol. II, p. 39; Walter de Hemingburgh, Vol. I, p. 23. ⁴ Gwentian Chronicle.

ascendant, and sundry other successful expeditions against their enemies are recorded in the chronicle of the Princes; but in the following year the tide of victory had turned in favour of the Normans; and from this time forward we find the power of the latter gradually increasing, though not without encountering repeated checks from the Welshmen, who made many a gallant effort to recover the ground which they had lost. In Gwyneth the English, under the Earls of Shrewsbury and Chester, not only regained their former footing but appear to have temporarily reduced the whole of North Wales to their subjection, forcing Griffith ap Cynan and Cadogan ap Blethin, the most powerful of the Welsh chieftains, to escape to Ireland. Their fellow-countrymen at the same time probably recovered their possessions from the Welsh in Dyvet and Cardigan. To this same period we may ascribe the re-conquest of Brecknock by Bernard de Newmarch. This Bernard was assisted by Roger de Newburgh, and their victory extended to Gower, which was subsequently held by Roger and his descendants under the superior lordship of Brecknock.¹ The commots of Kidwelly and Carnwallyon were likewise subdued by Maurice de Londres, and added to the lordship of Ogmores which he held under Fitz Hamon. So that three only of the four cantreds of Istrad Tywi (*i.e.* the Vale of Towy or Carmarthenshire) now remained under Welsh rule, together with a portion of Cardigan: and even these territories, as we shall see, were further reduced before the final conquest of Wales. The Normans strengthened their hold upon their newly acquired possessions by erecting castles of stone as places of defence against their enemies; for before that time the castles in Wales were only built of wood.²

The year 1097 was marked by the return from Ireland of Griffith and Cadogan, who, after making their peace with the victorious Normans, were allowed to hold a portion of Cambrian territory. Cadogan ap Blethin had Cardigan and a part of Powys made over to him, and Griffith ap Cynan had Mona or the Isle of Anglesey.³

William Rufus died on August 2, 1100, and Henry succeeded to the English throne. The rebellion of Robert

¹ Jones' History of Brecknockshire. ² Gwentian Chronicle. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

de Belesme, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, in the year 1102, in which he was joined by his brother Arnulph Earl of Pembroke and other magnates of the Marches, effected some changes in the tenure of lands in South Wales, and served to increase the power of the Welsh Princes, whose alliance was eagerly sought by both King and Earl.

Cadogan seems to have thrown in his lot with the Norman Earl. His brother Jorwerth was won over to the King's allegiance by the bribe of a large grant of territory, to be held during the King's life without homage or payment—no less than Powys, Cardigan, and the half of Dyvet which had been forfeited by Arnulph de Montgomery. The other half of Dyvet had been bestowed upon Richard fitz Baldwin together with Istrad Tywi, Kidwelly, and Gower;¹ from which we may infer that the lords of these commots had taken part with Belesme. After this time we hear no more of Arnulph in connection with the earldom of Pembroke. He was forced to relinquish his lands to the King and to purchase his life at the price of banishment from the country. Jorwerth ap Blethin now made peace with his brother Cadogan and surrendered to him Cardigan and a part of Powys: but King Henry, having no more need of his services, "took Dyvet and the castle from him, and gave them to a certain knight named Saer; and Istradtywi, Kidwelly, and Gower, he granted to Howel ap Grono."² At this time the King granted divers castles and lordships in Wales to his English followers;³ and in the same year Grono, son of Res ap Tudor, died in the King's prison in London.⁴ This is the first we hear of the sons of Res ap Tudor after the death of their father. Grono's misfortune probably followed quickly upon the attainment of his majority.

In the following year (1104) the castle of Rhyd-y-Gors was restored by Richard fitz Baldwin; and Howel son of

¹ The Brut places this grant in the year 1100; but we are obliged to add about a year or two at this period to the dates of the record edition of the Brut to make them agree with those of other historians. Perhaps it may have been in the year 1101 that the grant was made, for there is some probability that Henry was on the Welsh border in that year, though no chronicle records it. A charter dated at Hereford seems most likely to have passed in that year; (Ex inf. Rev. R. Eyton.) ² Brut-y-Tywysogion, c.d. We are not informed whether Istradtywi, Kidwelly, and Gower were at this time forfeited by Richard fitz Baldwin, or whether, as is more probable, they had been taken from him by Cadogan. ³ Powel's Hist. of Wales. ⁴ Gwentian Chronicle.

Grono, to whom King Henry had previously committed the custody of Istradtywi and Rhyd-y-Gors, was driven from his lands; "upon which he collected spoils, by burning and laying waste nearly all the districts, and killing many of the Normans who were returning home. He also raised the country on every side, and re-possessed it, and the castle remained undisturbed, and its garrison within it. In that interval King Henry expelled the knight Saer from Pembroke, and granted the custody of the castle with all its boundaries to Gerald the Steward, who had been the Steward under Ernulph."¹

In the following year, 1105-6, the same Howel ap Grono was treacherously delivered to the Normans and put to death.²

The next remarkable event connected with South Wales is the permanent settlement of the colony of Flemings in the cantred or hundred of Rhos in Pembrokeshire. Some of their countrymen had already settled in this country in the days of William the conqueror, and we find them established about Downton at the period of the Domesday survey.³ An eruption of the sea into Flanders compelled the inhabitants to emigrate in great numbers. Many of the wanderers sought refuge in England and were allowed to inhabit the borders of Scotland. Shortly afterwards, about the year 1107-8, the King removed this colony to the Welsh border, and gave the Flemish refugees permission to settle in Rhos, in the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest and Tenby, which they were to take possession of for themselves.⁴ And Gerald, the Steward, at this time rebuilt the castle of Pembroke in a place called Cengarth Bychan, where he brought his household stuff and settled with his family.⁵

Soon afterwards the audacious rape of Nest, the wife of this Gerald de Windsor and daughter of Res ap Tudor, by her kinsman Owen son of Cadogan ap Blethin, set the country in a blaze and served to complicate the affairs of

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion compared with general history. ³ Wright's History of Ludlow, p. 45. ⁴ The date of this immigration and settlement is differently given by the historians. The author of the Welsh Chronicle places it in 1105 or 1106; Holinshed in 1107; Powel in 1108; Florence of Worcester and Carte in 1111. ⁵ Brut-y-Tywysogion; Powel's Hist. of Wales. Mr. Clark conjectures that it was not the castle of Pembroke but that of Carew which Gerald built (Earls and Castles of Pembroke.)

South Wales. Cadogan, unable or unwilling to sacrifice his son to the revenge of those whom he had so deeply wronged, was forced to flee the country. Before many months had elapsed, however, he was permitted to return to Cardigan after paying a heavy fine to the King and binding himself to have no dealings whatever with his son. It may, perhaps, have been the King's intention to entrap him into a breach of faith. At any rate, his son Owen's behaviour soon afforded a ready pretext for depriving him again of his territory and placing him under surveillance. He was once more restored to his liberty in the year 1110, when the King gave him the land of Powys and consented to receive his son Owen to his peace; but his connection with the land of Cardigan had now for ever ceased, and he came to a violent end soon after. During the period of Cadogan's incarceration the King sent for Gilbert de Clare, and made him an offer of all the lands of Cadogan in case he could win them for himself. The King's offer was joyfully accepted, and Gilbert, having raised an army for the purpose, landed in Cardiganshire and soon brought to his subjection the whole of that country;¹ where he built two castles, one opposite to Llanbadarn near the efflux of the river Ystwyth, and the other near to Aberteivi at the place called Dingeraint (Cilgerran?) where Roger de Montgomery (or his son Robert de Belesme) had before founded a castle.²

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Ibid.

CHAPTER III.

Although the events of the few years last recorded are not immediately connected with the personal history of the descendants of Res ap Tudor Mawr, it was necessary to relate them at some length in order to enable the reader to follow the great changes which had taken place in the government of South Wales since the death of that Prince, and to realize the position of his son Griffith in his struggles for the recovery of his inheritance.

It was after the return of Henry I. from Normandy, in 1115, that we first hear of Griffith, the son of Res ap Tudor, who in his youth had gone with some of his relatives into Ireland, where he remained until he grew up to manhood. He was sent for from thence by his brother-in-law Gerald, steward of Pembroke Castle, who had married his sister Nest the daughter of Res ap Tudor. "And he passed about two years, sometimes with Gerald, at other times with his kindred; sometimes in Gwyneth; sometimes wandering from place to place. At length he was accused to the King; and it was represented that the hearts of all the Britons were with him, in contempt of the royal title of King Henry. And when Griffith ap Res heard of those reports he determined on going to Griffith ap Cynan to endeavour to save his life; and having sent messengers, the other promised that he would receive him with great pleasure if he came. After Griffith ap Res heard that, he and his brother Howel went to him. This same Howel had been in the prison of Ernulph, son of Roger, lord of Castle Baldwyn (Montgomery), to whom King William had given a part of the territory of Res ap Tudor; and subsequently this Howel had escaped in a maimed state, with broken limbs, out of the prison."¹

The brothers, with their attendants, were kindly received by the Prince of Gwyneth. But when the King heard that Griffith ap Res had repaired to Griffith ap

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

Cynan, he summoned the latter to his court at London and despatched an honourable retinue to conduct him thither. The Prince obeyed the summons, and after being honourably entertained at the King's court and loaded with rich gifts, he was induced to betray his friend by the promise that he should hold his lands free, and that he should receive the King's assistance and support. Accordingly he returned to Gwyneth under a pledge to secure Griffith ap Res, and send him alive to the King, or if this could not be effected, to kill him, and send to him his head. It appears, however, that, in a fit of drunkenness, he talked of his treacherous engagement, at the King's palace, in the hearing of one of Gerald's relations, who immediately despatched a speedy messenger to Gerald with the information. Nest lost no time in sending the intelligence to her brothers in Gwyneth; which reached them just in time to enable them to escape from the horsemen who were sent by their faithless host to take them. They immediately fled to Aberdaron and placed themselves under the protection of the church; and when Griffith ap Cynan heard that they had taken refuge there, he sent to force them from thence; but the clergy would not suffer the sanctuary of the church to be violated. While the contention was pending between them, a ship from Dyvet came to Enlli, with sailors, who took Griffith ap Res and his brother on board, and thus enabled them to reach the vale of Towy in safety.¹

The situation of Griffith at this period was not an enviable one. On his return from Ireland to his native country he had found the Normans in possession, not only of Glamorgan, Gwent, and Brecknock, but also of Dyvet, Cardigan, Gower, Kidwelly, and Carnwallyon.

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion; *i.e.* the Strata Florida version, being that published by the Record commission in 1860; compared with the Gwentian version, published by the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1863, which at this period gives a fuller account than the former. It would seem that the Welsh history recorded by Caradoc (or whoever may have been the original compiler of the Brut-y-Tywysogion) was carried no further than the period which we have now reached. For at this period (ascribed to the year 1113 in the chronicle before us, but in reality about A.D. 1116) we observe in the Strata Florida version a remarkable change in the spirit of the writer. We may assume, from the contemptuous language in which he speaks of the Welsh exploits, that the continuator of the chronicle at this period was a Norman monk having no sympathy with the Welsh nation. This unfriendly tone towards the Welsh continues for about 15 or 20 years, after which the narrative is taken up again by a more friendly hand.

I imagine that the cantrev Bychan was likewise held at this time by the Normans, so that little besides the cantrev Mawr remained in possession of the native lords of South Wales; and even this was under the government of chieftains nominated by the English King.¹

From this unhopeful state of affairs did Griffith gradually raise himself to a position of power and eminence. Adversities seem to have drawn forth his talents, and though the Welsh chronicle (which was penned at this time by an unfriendly hand) makes light of his early exploits, we must assign to him a high place amongst the defenders of his country.

Being now delivered from the treacherous hospitality of the Prince of North Wales, he was forced, for the defence of his own life, to bid open defiance to the King. When he reached Istrad Tywi he began to arm himself; and many of his countrymen resorted to him and placed themselves under his command. With these irregular forces he attacked the English outposts, and ravaged the borders of Dyvet and Cardigan.

In the following year (1116) he renewed his desultory warfare, which he commenced by sacking and burning the castle near Arberth.² From thence he proceeded to Llanymddyvri [Llandovery] and attacked the castle of Richard fitz Ponz, to whom King Henry had given Cantrev Bychan; but here he met with a repulse from the garrison, which was aided by Meredith ap Rytherch ap Caradoc, who held the stewardship of Cantrev Bychan under Richard fitz Ponz: and Griffith could only kill some of the defenders, burn the outwork of the castle, and ravage the lands of Richard fitz Ponz.³ He also made an incursion into the land of Gower which he laid waste, although he was unable to accomplish more than the destruction of the outer works of the castle of Abertawy (or Swansea). His many successes raised his credit among his countrymen, who now flocked to him in great numbers in the hope of

¹ To this we may add a portion of Nether Gwent which was retained by Welsh lords, who made Caerleon their capital. ² Brut-y-Tywsogion. The castle of Arberth, now called Narberth, was in the ancient commot of Penrhyn-yr-Eleys and in the cantred of Arberth in Dyvet (or Pembrokeshire). It formed the head of a lordship which was assigned to Stephen Perrot by Arnulph de Montgomery in the reign of King William II. (Lewys' Top. Dic.) ³ Gwentian Chronicle.

seeing the British kingdom once more restored. The English also were roused to a more strenuous effort for the defence of their possessions, and summoned to their assistance those of the Welsh nobles who had received their lands to hold under the King, viz., Owen ap Caradoc ap Rytherch, to whom he had given a portion of the Cantrev Mawr, Meredith ap Rytherch, and Rytherch ap Tudor with his sons Meredith and Owen. These declared themselves true to the English allegiance and undertook the defence of the castle of Carmarthen, which was committed to them in turn for a fortnight at a time. Bledri ap Cedivor was in like manner appointed to keep the castle of Robert Langan (or the crook-handed) at Abercavwy.

Griffith now turned his attention to the castle of Carmarthen, and after sending spies to reconnoitre he soon found an opportunity of approaching it whilst it was under the custody of Owen ap Caradoc. His attack was conducted by night. "And when Owen and his companions heard the noise and shouting of the men coming near, he and his companions suddenly arose from the house they were in, and, going towards the place where he heard the shout, he advanced forwards himself before the troop, supposing his companions to be close behind him; but they, leaving him alone, had fled, and thus he was slain there;"¹ whereupon Griffith entered the castle, burned the outer ward, and, leaving the tower, returned to the vale of Towy with great spoil.

Florence of Worcester, in speaking of the spring of the year 1116, relates that Griffith ap Res took booty, and burned the castles in Wales, because King Henry would not give to him any of his father's land.² The Gwentian version of the Brut informs us that a great mortality took place among the English in that year, so that the King could not procure men at his need. There was also a pestilence among the cattle which caused great dearth in England but did not extend to Wales. The King's absence in Normandy at this juncture would have also proved favourable to the operations of the Welsh Prince.³ "At that time the Flemings came a second

¹ Brut-y-Tywyssogion. ² Florence of Worcester, Vol. II, pp. 68-9. ³ Henry went to Normandy in March, 1116, and was absent till November, 1120.

time to England, on account of the sea destroying their lands, where the sea flood had demolished the sand hills years previously ; and the king, being in want of men to withstand the irruptions of Griffith ap Res, sent to his castellans and officers, and the Normans and Welsh who were well affected to him, with a command to receive the Flemings and give them means of subsistence, under condition that they should take arms when required by the King and those faithful to him. And so it was ; and those strangers had Roos, in the district of the Headland of Dyved, and settled there as loyal men to the king ; and he placed English among them to teach them the English language, and (adds the chronicler) they are now English, and the plague of Dyved and South Wales on account of their deceit and lies, in which they exceeded any settlers in any part of the island of Britain.”¹

Griffith's next exploit was directed against the lords of Kidwelly and Gower. Having first destroyed a castle in Gower, and slain many of the garrison, he took the castle of Kidwelly from William de Londres, and ravaged his territory, from whence he returned home again loaded with spoils.

After these fresh successes, the leading men of Cardigan, namely, Cedivor ap Grono, Howel ap Idnerth, and Trahaern ap Ithel, being of his kindred, came to him and offered to receive him as their Prince. And, with their assistance, Griffith not only demolished many castles and took great spoils, but also regained a portion of the lands and territories of his father in those parts. The Welshmen who had submitted to the Norman rule suddenly rose in his favour, killed numbers of the English settlers in the land of Cardigan, and destroyed and pillaged their houses. “And when the King heard that, he sent to Owen ap Cadogan, called in South Wales *the Traitor*, and Llywarch ap Trahaern ap Ithel, and promised them gifts and honourable privileges to go against Griffith ap Res ; and Owen and Llywarch went at the King's request. And when Gerald, steward of the castle of Pembroke, heard of the arrival of Owen in Cardigan, calling to mind what Owen had done to his wife Nest, he meditated

¹ Gwentian Chronicle.

revenging that injury, and went with his men against Owen and his men; and early in the onset Owen was slain with an arrow. And so it happened to him for the injuries he had done to the Welsh nation."¹

About that time Griffith entered Cardigan Iscoed and attacked and destroyed the castle of Port Gwythain, which had been built by Gilbert fitz Richard, and slew the garrison. Then he subjugated the country around as far as Penwedic; and won the castle of Ystrad Peithell, which belonged to Ralph the steward of Gilbert. He afterwards assaulted the castle of Aberystwith, where however he met with a severe repulse and was obliged to retire with loss. Griffith with his forces had encamped for the night at a place called Glasygrug, about a mile from Lanbadarn, purposing to besiege the castle of Aberystwith on the morrow: but for want of necessary provisions for his army he was tempted to violate the sanctuary of the church by taking some cattle which belonged to the religious there. The following morning Griffith and his kinsmen, Rytherch ap Tudor and his sons Meredith and Owen ap Rytherch, indiscreetly sallied forth from their tents without putting their troops in array, until they came to Ystrad Antarron, which was opposite the castle. The castle was situated on the top of a hill that shelved down to the river Ystwyth, and over the river was a bridge. Griffith, having encamped on Pendinas hill,² opposite to the castle, passed the morning in preparing engines and devising means to effect a breach in the walls, so that in the words of the chronicle "the day glided away until it was afternoon." Then the Normans, seeing their hesitation, sent out some archers to skirmish with them, in the hopes of drawing them to the bridge, where the mailed cavalry might suddenly attack them and cut them off. Ralph, the steward, who had custody of the castle, had privately sent to Strat Meyric, another of the castles which had been erected by Earl Gilbert, his lord, from whence he received reinforcements in the night. But the Welsh, not knowing the strength of the garrison, fell into the trap which was laid for them and indiscreetly ran down to attack the archers at the bridge. "And as

¹ Gwentian Chronicle. ² Meyrick's Cardigan.

the one party was pressing on, and the other shooting, a mailed knight rushed violently to the bridge; and some of Griffith's men came to oppose him on the bridge. He essaying to attack them, his horse broke his neck, and the horse being wounded fell down; and then they all with spears endeavoured to kill him, but his coat of mail protected him, until some of his party came and dragged him away. And when he got up he fled; and when his companions saw him flee, they also all fled, and the Britons pursued them almost to the declivity of the mountain. The rear body however did not pursue, but without seeking either bridge or ford they took to flight. When the Normans from the top of the mountain observed these fleeing, they attacked the advanced body and killed as many as they could find; and the throng of people was scattered about the country on every side, some having their cattle with them, others having left everything, endeavouring to save their lives; so that the whole country was left a desert."¹

In the following year (1117) Robert de Caen, Earl of Gloucester, was sent against Griffith; but "when he came to the vale of Towy he was deserted by nearly all the Welsh in his army; who would not take up arms, on behalf of a foreigner, to oppose a lawful Prince, a Welshman of unmixed lineage;" so Robert was obliged to return home without accomplishing anything.²

In the meantime Griffith ap Res, having retreated to the wilds of Ystradtywi, held the English at defiance; and Henry, wearied at length with his ineffectual attempts to conquer him, was under the necessity of concluding a peace with him, about the year 1122, by which he ceded to Griffith a considerable portion of his father's territories to be held free. These lands are thus enumerated in the Gwentian Chronicle "Ystrad Tywi, Cantref Penwedie, in Cardigan, the cantreds [and commots?] of Caerwedros, Cantref Bychan, Caethinawc, Caeaw, Myfennydd, and others."³ It would thus appear that the

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Gwentian Chronicle, which however places these events at too early a date. The occurrence of these two years are thus shortly alluded to by Florence of Worcester, "*Griffinus filius Res verno tempore [an. 1116] in Walonia prædam egit, et castella incendit, quoniam rex Angliæ Heinricus particulam de terra patris sui ei dari noluit.*" ³ This passage does not occur in the Record Edition of the Brut.

greater portion of Carmarthenshire (all indeed except the South Eastern Cantrev) as well as the upper portion of Cardiganshire together with the more Southern commot of Caerwedros were made over to Griffith by this treaty. But such a truce was not likely to be kept any longer than suited the King's convenience; and we are not surprised to hear that a few years afterwards Griffith was ejected from his lands on the accusation of the Normans who dwelt in those parts. Griffith demanded to be informed of the ground of complaint against him, but could get no answer. He now prepared for a vigorous defence of his rights, and, calling Howel ap Meredith and the men of Brecknock to his assistance, he expelled the Normans and Flemish from his territories with as little bloodshed as possible. After which he despatched an embassy to the King under the safe conduct of the Bishop of St. David's to ascertain the cause of his offence; to which he received no reply; but he was allowed to remain in peace and quietness for some time afterwards.¹ We are not informed how these engagements affected the tenure of the Welsh Prince's lands in Cardiganshire, but it is probable that he lost at this period the footing he had previously gained there.*

We hear no more of Griffith ap Res until after the death of Henry I, which took place on Dec. 2, 1135. On the accession of Stephen, we are told that the King sent a summons to Griffith to attend him without delay in London to answer some complaints which had been preferred against him.² But Griffith tired of such vague accusations treated the summons with contempt, and took prompt measures to chastise the foreign settlers who had thus repeatedly endeavoured to involve him with the English court. Accordingly he proceeded to North Wales to procure assistance from his father-in-law Griffith ap Cynan, Prince of North Wales; and during his absence "his wife Gwenllian, a woman of an high spirit, collected her friends and with her sons entered Cydweli, the land which the ancestors of Maurice de Londres had ravished from her family. Gruffudd ab Llywelyn, who commanded for Maurice, and was an enemy to Gruffudd,

¹ Gwentian Chronicle. ² Ibid.

met Gwenllian, and a bloody scene ensued, wherein Gwenllian and her son Morgan were defeated and slain, and her son Maelgwn made prisoner. The place where this battle was fought is, to this day, called Maes Gwenllian, Gwenllian's Field."¹ This is probably the battle which is stated by Florence of Worcester to have been fought at Guher (Gower) in which five hundred and sixteen were slain on one side and the other, and their bodies left on the field to be horribly torn to pieces and devoured by the wolves. This battle, he tells us, was followed by a very great invasion of the Welshmen, attended, far and wide, with a vast destruction of churches, towns, growing crops, and cattle, the burning of castles and other fortified places, and the slaughter, dispersion, and sale into foreign parts, of innumerable men both rich and poor; amongst whom, on xvii. *Kal. Maii* (April 15, 1136), perished the noble and amiable Richard fitz Gilbert, whose body was conveyed to Gloucester and honourably interred.² The Brut informs us that Owen (Gwyneth) and Cadwalader, the sons of Griffith ap Cynan, assisted Griffith in this expedition, and that they destroyed the castles of Walter de Bek and Richard de la Mere, and the castles of Aberystwith, Dinerth, and Caerwedros, after which they returned home.³ Before many months had elapsed the sons of Griffith ap Cynan a second time invaded the land of Cardigan with an army of about 6000 infantry and 2000 well armed cavalry.⁴ They were joined by Griffith ap Res and other magnates of South Wales, who subdued the whole country as far as Cardigan, and driving out the foreigners

¹ York's Royal Tribes of Wales, p. 35. ² Florence of Worcester, vol. II, p. 97. This Richard fitz Gilbert was the eldest son and heir of Gilbert fitz Richard, the conqueror of Cardigan, and was also elder brother of Gilbert Strongbow, afterwards made Earl of Pembroke. Richard fitz Gilbert was succeeded by his son Gilbert who became Earl of Hertford. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion, Annales Cambriæ, and Gwentian Chronicle. Giraldus Cambrensis relates a feat of chivalry which greatly redounds to the honour of an English knight at this distressing period. The widow of Richard fitz Gilbert, who is described as a "lady of singular beauty, was left in a castle attended by many female attendants, distant from every friend, and surrounded by the Welsh, who menaced her with every possible indignity. The poor Countess and her damsels had already felt each horror by anticipation, when they were unexpectedly relieved by the romantic gallantry of Milo fitz Walter, who, encouraged by King Stephen, and accompanied by a few chosen warriors, rode night and day to the beleaguered fortress, and although he found it environed by numbers of Welsh, brought away the ladies inviolate." This lady was the daughter of Ranulph le Meschin (I) Earl of Chester. Castell Caerwedros (or the Bloody Fort) was situated near Llwyndafydd, in the Parish of Llandysilio Gogo, where a moted tumulus still marks the site (Jones' Hist. Wales). ⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

replaced the old inhabitants in their lands and possessions. In the meantime King Stephen had sent Baldwin de Clare, the brother of Richard fitz Gilbert, with a well appointed army to put down the insurrection. But he got no further than the castle of Brecknock, where he heard that the Welsh were coming in strong force to resist him, having blocked up the roads with trees which they had felled for the purpose; and Baldwin, seized with fear, after wasting much time in listless idleness and exhausting all his stock of provisions, made an ignominious retreat to England.¹ The entire force of the Normans and Flemings in Wales and the Marches was now brought together, to oppose the victorious Welshmen, under Stephen constable of Cardigan, Robert fitz Martin, Pain fitz John, and the sons of Gerald.² A great battle ensued which was fought at Cardigan in the second week of October, 1136,³ in which an English contemporary historian informs us that the slaughter of human life was so great that, besides the men who were led away into captivity, there remained 10,000 captured women, whose husbands, with countless little ones, had been partly drowned in the water, partly consumed in the flames, partly slain with the sword. And it was a truly miserable sight to behold when the bridge over the river Teuwi [Teivy] had been broken down and a bridge for those who passed over was formed by human corpses, or a shocking pile of horses drowned at that place.⁴ "The valour of the Welsh on this occasion," says Lord Lyttelton, "seemed to be raised above its usual pitch under the conduct of those Princes by whom they were commanded. The English were routed, and flying to their castles were so hotly pursued that great numbers of them were drowned in the river Teivy by the breaking down of a bridge over which they were passing, besides 3000 who were killed in the battle and flight, and many more were taken prisoners; inso-much that from the time when the Normans first entered Wales they had never suffered so great a defeat, nor had their arms been so disgraced in any other country."⁵

¹ *Gesta Regis Stephani*, p. 12. ² *Brut-y-Tywysogion* and *Annales Cambriae* compared with *Eyton's Ant. of Shropshire*, and *Gesta Regis Stephani*, pp. 15, 16.
³ *Florence of Worcester*, vol. II, p. 97. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *History of Henry II*, vol. II, p. 60.

After this the King was compelled to relinquish his efforts to subdue them and left them for a while to themselves in the hope that when peace was restored they might quarrel over the spoil, and turn their arms against each other.¹ In the meantime Griffith ap Res pursued his advantage by conquering the land of Ros (in Pembrokeshire).²

When the conquest of the land of Cardigan was completed it was divided among the confederates; and after this series of triumphs the Prince of South Wales appointed a grand festival to be held at his palace in Ystrad Tywi, to which he invited all the Princes and Nobles of Wales and the Marches. For the entertainment of the guests he assembled the sages of the country, whom he appointed to hold disputations; and he brought together the chief bards and musicians of every district to display their skill in vocal and instrumental music. To these were added scenic representations, feats of skill, and athletic sports. This festival continued forty days, after which the guests were dismissed and the bards and players liberally rewarded according to their deserts.³

This interval of relaxation being over, Griffith applied himself with diligence to the most important affairs of state. Assisted by a counsel of wise and learned men, whom he had convened for the purpose, he revised the existing laws, and established some new regulations for the government of the country, appointing a court to be held in every cantrev, and a subordinate court in every commot for the greater accommodation of the people and the more expeditious despatch of business. Having concluded these arrangements he died universally lamented by his subjects, and leaving behind him the character of being "the bravest, wisest, most merciful, beneficent, and just of all the Princes."⁴ He is described, in another edition of the Chronicle of the Princes, as "the light and strength and greatness of the men of South Wales."⁵ Florence of Worcester places his death about April, or May, 1137, and attributes it to the treachery of

¹ *Gesta Regis Stephani*. ² *Annales Cambriæ*. ³ *Rees' South Wales*, p. 234 (The author quotes from *Myfyrian Archæology*, Vol. II, p. 558). ⁴ *Rees' South Wales* (from *Myfyrian Arch.* Vol. II, p. 558). ⁵ *Brut-y-Tyŵysogion*, p. 161. I would refer my readers to Lord Lyttelton's life of Henry II, Vol. II, p. 64, for a highly interesting and descriptive account of the manners and customs of the Welsh at this period.

his wife.¹ It was soon followed by the death of his father-in-law, Griffith ap Cynan, Prince of North Wales. Giraldus Cambrensis tells a story of Griffith ap Res which will serve to illustrate the credulity of the times. He was returning from the King's Court, riding in company with Milo, Earl of Hereford, the Lord of Brechinioch (Brecknock), and Pain fitz John, the Lord of Ewyas, by the shore of the lake Brechinioch, in a time of frost when the lake was covered with waterfowl of various kinds. Milo alluded to an ancient Welsh saying, to the effect that if the natural Prince of the country should come to this lake and order the birds to sing, they would immediately obey him, and jestingly proposed that Griffith should prove his descent by this ornithological experiment. Griffith, who was richer in wit than in gold, and who had lost none of his dignity with the diminution of his inheritance, retorted that, as Milo and Fitz John were now in possession of the country, they ought to try first. They agreed; and having failed to induce the wildfowl to acknowledge them, Griffith, feeling himself bound by their importunity to try his fortune in turn, immediately dismounted from his horse, and fell upon his knees towards the east, as though he were about to engage in a duel, then humbly prostrating himself, and lifting his eyes and hands towards Heaven, he engaged in earnest prayer. After which he rose from his knees and, signing himself with the cross, he openly exclaimed "O Almighty God who knowest all things, O Lord Jesu Christ, declare Thy power this day. Seeing that Thou hast caused me to derive my lineal descent from the native Princes of Wales, in Thy name I command these birds to proclaim it." Upon which all the birds, each after its own kind, immediately began to call and cry out, striking the water with their wings. All the bystanders were astonished and confounded; and the Earl and Pain returned to the King's court with all haste and related to him the singular occurrence. Whereupon the King, after listening to their story, exclaimed "By the death of Christ" (his usual oath) "it is not so much to be wondered at;

¹ Florence of Worcester, Vol. II, p. 98. "*Rex Walie Griffinus, filius Res, dolo conjugis sue circumventus, defungitur.*" If this be so she must have been a second wife, or perhaps a concubine, for his wife Gwennllian was killed in 1136.

for although by our great power we have inflicted much injury upon this people, they are well known to have an hereditary right to these lands." Giraldus informs us that this incident occurred in the time of King Henry I., and that, although Griffith nominally held the rank and title of Prince of South Wales under the English King, he was then in possession of but one commot only (which he describes as the fourth part of a cantrev) namely that of Kaoc (Caeo) in Cantrefmaur.¹

By his wife Gwenllian, daughter of Griffith ap Cynan, Griffith ap Res had six sons, Morgan, Maelgon, Anarawd, Cadell, Meredith, and Res; and, according to the heralds, also six daughters, Gwenllian, Sioned, Ales, Marred, Arthyn, and Gladys.²

¹ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, Record Edition, p. 34. According to the usual divisions of Caermarthen the commot of Caeo was in the Cantrev Bychan, but there was another division under which the Cantrev Mawr embraced what are usually known as the Cantrevs Mawr and Bychan. ² *Her. Vis. Wal.*, Vol. II, p. 99.

CHAPTER IV.

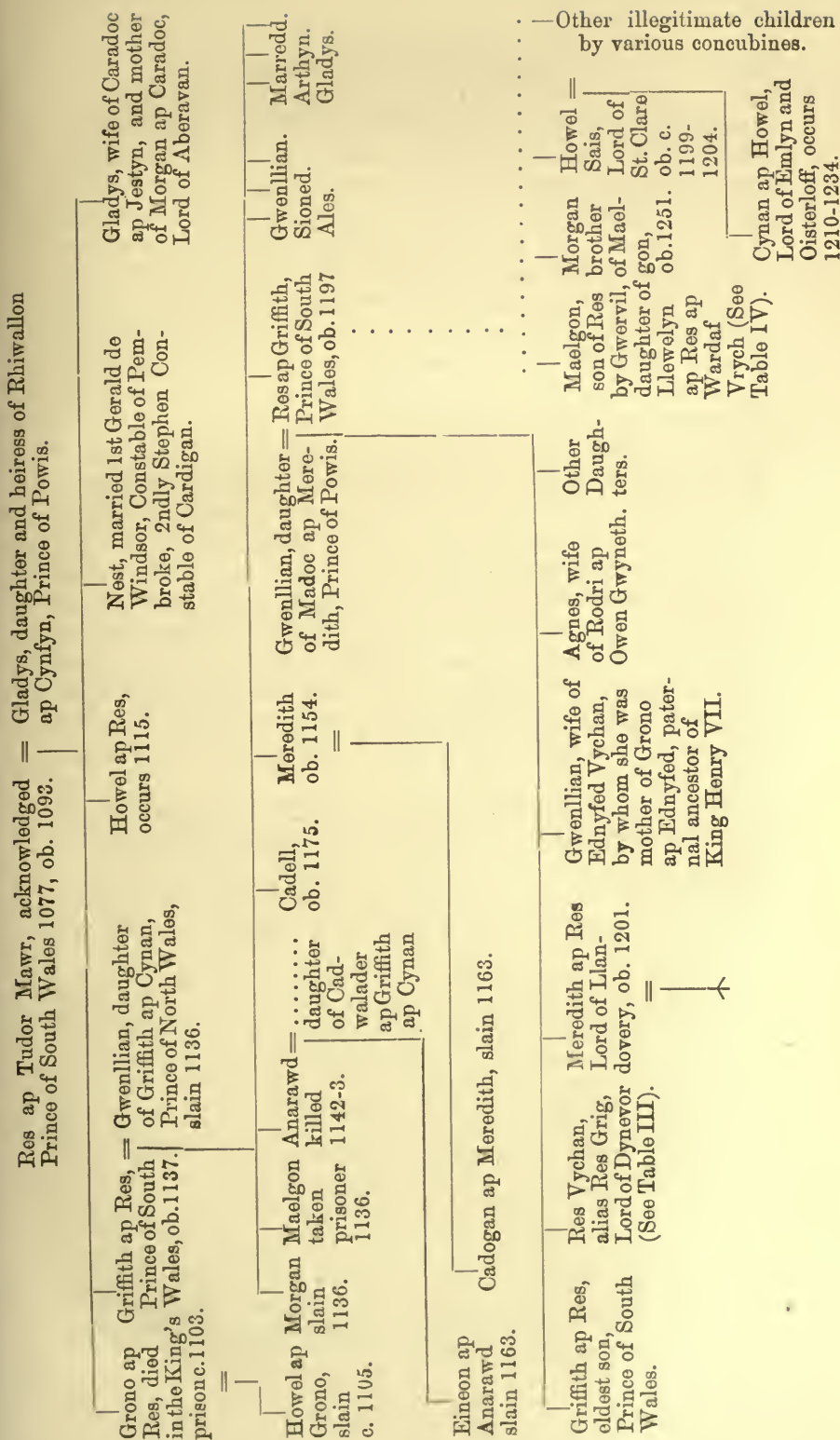
It is doubtful whether Griffith ap Res held any part of Cardigan at the time of his death. At any rate his sons were not allowed to enter into possession of this portion of the ancient dominions of their ancestors; but the rightful succession in Wales had been so often interrupted that the heirs were seldom suffered to enter upon their inheritance without having to contend with the most powerful of their kindred or neighbours. Shortly after the death of Griffith ap Res, however, we find Owen Gwyneth and Cadwalader, the sons of Griffith ap Cynan, in possession of the land of Cardigan, which they held against the Norman claimants.

Of the sons of Griffith, Morgan was slain at the battle of Maes Gwentllian in 1136, being then but a youth; Maelgon was taken prisoner by the English at the same time, and probably died in captivity, since we hear no more of him. Anarawd married the daughter of his cousin Cadwalader ap Griffith ap Cynan, and fell by the hand of his father-in-law, in 1142-3,¹ leaving a son Eineon who was murdered in his bed by one of his own retainers about the year 1163.² The quarrel between Cadwalader and his son-in-law was caused by Anarawd's taking the part of his brother Res, which was distasteful to Cadwalader.³ The three remaining brothers Res, Cadell, and Meredith, jointly contended for their rights against the Princes of North Wales and their common enemy the Normans.

The first we hear of these Princes, after the death of Anarawd, is about the year 1145⁴ when Gilbert de Clare had

¹ & ² Powel's Contin. of Welsh Chron. ³ Gwentian Chronicle. ⁴ On Sunday Feb. 2, 1141, was fought the famous battle of Lincoln. Ranulph le Meschin, Earl of Chester, and Robert de Caen, Earl of Gloucester, here defeated and took prisoner the Usurper Stephen. The victory was in great measure owing to the intrepidity of a Welsh contingent, raised by the Earl of Chester, probably in North Wales, while the Earl of Gloucester's Fitz Hamon inheritance will have enabled him to augment the force by his resources in South Wales. These Welsh soldiers, Ordericus (who finished his books in the very year 1141) tells us were led by two of their own Kings, whom he calls "Mariadoth" and "Kaladrius." I take these to have been Meredith ap Griffith ap Res and Cadwalader ap Griffith ap Cynan.

TABLE II.



come with great power into South Wales and repaired the castles of Carmarthen and Mabuchtryd. Not long afterwards Res ap Griffith ap Res and his brothers Cadell and Meredith reduced the castle of Dynevor which Earl Gilbert had built; and further took the castle of Carmarthen with the help of Howel ap Owen. From thence the brothers proceeded to Llanstephan,¹ where the foreigners were again defeated, and the castle taken from them and committed to the keeping of Meredith; "whereupon all the Flemings and Normanes inhabiting that countrie all about, gathered their powers togethir, and their captaines were the sonnes of Gerald, and William de Hay, who laid siege to the same castell upon the sudden. But Meredyth ap Gruffyth, to whose custodie the castell was committed, encouraged his men to fight and to defend the place, and that which lacked in him of strength (for he was young in years) he supplied in courage and discretion. He suffered his enemies to scale the wals, and, when the ladders were full, he gave the watchword, and his souldiours did manfullie with engines overturne all the ladders, and maimed a great number of armed men and tried souldiours, and put the rest to flight."²

In the year 1147 we find the three sons of Griffith ap Res attacking the castle of Gwys,³ which likewise fell into their hands.⁴

In 1150 Cadell ap Griffith, having fortified the castle of Carmarthen, led his forces to Kidwelly⁵ where he

¹ Llanstephan Castle is in Carmarthenshire, 8 miles S.S.W. of Carmarthen, in the present hundred of Derllys (Lewis' Top. Dictionary). ² Powel's Hist. ³ Castell Gwys or Wiston is in the modern hundred of Dungleddau co. Pembroke, 5 miles E.N.E. from Haverfordwest. It derived its name from its first Norman or Flemish possessor, Gwys or Wyz, who made it the head of his Barony of Dungleddau. The daughter of his grandson Sir Philip Gwys married Gwrgan ap Blethin, a Welsh chieftian, from whom descended the family of Wogan, in whose possession this place remained till the present generation, when, in default of issue male, the estates of this ancient family were divided among co-heiresses; and the castle and Barony of Wiston were subsequently purchased by the Earl of Cawdor. ⁴ Powel compared with the Brut, &c. ⁵ Kidwelly or Cydweli is a district in Carmarthenshire 9 miles south of Carmarthen. The district was first won from the Welsh by William de Londres, one of the twelve knights who accompanied Fitzhamon in his conquest of Glamorgan. Having again fallen into the hands of the Welsh it was recaptured by Maurice de Londres, who is said to have built the castle. About the year 1116 the town and fortress were surprised and taken by Griffith ap Res, who retained possession only for a short time; and it was subsequently the scene of his intrepid wife's misfortunes. After various fortunes the castle and lordship of Kidwelly became the property of Henry Earl of Lancaster by his marriage with the great granddaughter of Maurice de Londres, and so became vested in the crown in the time of Henry VII, who granted them to the celebrated Res ap Thomas.

ravaged the country and took great spoil. After his return he joined his forces with those of his brothers Meredith and Res, and entering Cardigan they won from Howel ap Owen Gwyneth the part called Is Aeron,¹ or the country south of the river Aeron.

They subsequently directed their forces against the castle of Llanrhystyd;² and after a long and toilsome attack they gained the fortress and slew all the defenders. They then took possession of the castle of Ystrad Meurig,³ in which they placed a garrison; after which they returned to the vale of Towy with a very great spoil of corn, cattle, and other goods,⁴ having apparently subjugated the whole of Cardigan with the exception of one castle at Pengwern in Llanvihangel.

In the following year, 1151-2, while Cadell ap Griffith was hunting in Dyvet, some of the Englishmen of Gower set an ambush to kill him; and having attacked him, and put his companions to flight, they fell upon him; but he, being a brave and powerful man, maintained his post, and having killed some of his foes, he forced the others to fly: but he received a severe wound in the conflict, of which he languished for a long time. When his brothers

On the attainder of Griffith, grandson of Res ap Thomas, they reverted to the crown, and were purchased in 1630 by the Earl of Carbery, from whom they have passed to the Earl of Cawdor, their present owner. The lordship, honour, and liberty of Kidwelly comprises the commots of Carnwallyon, Iscennen, and Kidwelly, and contains 16 parishes. It thus forms the South-Western portion of the county, being bounded by the river Towy on the North, the little river Cennen and Glamorganshire on the East, and the Sea on the South.

1 Powel compared with the Brut. 2 Llanrhystyd Castle I take to have been one of two castles in the commot of Anhunog, south of Aberystwith in Cardiganshire. This part of Cardiganshire had been held by Cadwalader, the son of Griffith ap Cynan, who rebuilt the castle of Llanrhystyd in 1149 and gave over his portion of Cardigan to his son Cadogan (Brut-y-Tywysogion corrected as to the date). 3 Ystrad Meurig Castle was in the parish of Yspytty Ystwith in Cardiganshire, about 13 miles South-East from Aberystwith. It was built by Gilbert de Clare, was partly destroyed by the Princes of North Wales when they invaded Cardigan in 1136, and repaired and fortified on its recapture by the sons of Griffith. In 1168 it was taken by Earl Roger de Clare; but it was retaken in 1184 by Maelgon ap Res who in 1194 gave it to Anarawd his brother, as a ransom for the liberation of two of his brothers, Howel Sais and Madoc, who had been captured by Anarawd. It did not long remain in possession of the latter, for in 1198 Maelgon retook it, and retained it till the year 1207, when despairing of being able to defend it against Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, Prince of North Wales, he rased it to the ground; since which time it does not appear to have been rebuilt (Meyrick's Cardiganshire, p. 311. Lewis' Top. Dic.) 4 Gwentian Chronicle. The account of these exploits is given somewhat differently in the Record Edition of the Brut, where it is stated that "Cadell and Meredith and Res, the sons of Griffith ap Res, took the whole of Cardigan from Howel ap Owen except one castle that was at Pengwern in Llanvihangel. And, after that, they conquered the castle of Llanrhystud, after long fighting with it. And subsequently Howel ap Owen obtained that castle by force and burned it, after killing the garrison wholly. It was but a short time after that when Cadell, Meredith, and Res repaired the castle of Ystrad Meurig."

Meredith and Res heard of it, they entered Gower with their forces, and demanded that the ambuscaders should be given up to them. And when their demand was denied they attacked the country and devastated the land, reducing the castle of Aber Llychwr to a heap of ruins, and burning the castle of Llan Rhidian; after which they returned home with great spoil.¹ The castle of Dynevor was at this time repaired by them and strengthened, and garrisoned with chosen men. At the same time Howel ap Owen repaired Humphrey's Castle in the vale of Calettwr.² We hear no more of Cadell after his ill-treatment at the hands of the English, except that he went on a pilgrimage to Rome about the year 1156, when he left his possessions in the custody of his brothers Meredith and Res until he should return home. Perhaps he never afterwards fully recovered from his wounds, for we do not find him again taking part in the affairs of state; but he lived many years after this, and died in 1175.³

In the meanwhile we find the brothers Meredith and Res, in the year 1153, following up their successes against Howel ap Owen Gwyneth in Cardigan. They led their forces into Penwedic, the most northern division of Cardigan, and took from him the castle after a long and toilsome siege. This was probably Castell Gwalter at Llanvihangel Genau'rglyn, the castle of Llanvihangel in Pengwern which they had been unable to take from him on the former occasion. So that at this period the whole of Cardigan must have fallen into their hands. I imagine them to have also possessed themselves of the whole land of Carmarthen, with the exception of the two Southern commots of Kidwelly and Gower which probably yet remained in the hands of the Norman Conquerors. Their expedition into Cardigan was followed by an attack upon the castle of Tenby, in Dyvet, which they took by a night assault and committed to the custody of their cousin William fitz Gerald.

¹ Gwentian Chronicle. Gower or Gwyr was a district of Glamorganshire, so called because Gwyr signifies an encircled place; and this peninsular, once a part of Carmarthenshire but now forming the Western portion of Glamorganshire, is nearly encircled by sea and rivers. It was conquered from the Welsh by Roger de Newburgh and held by him and his heirs under Bernard Newmarch and de Braose, his successor (Jones' Hist. of Brecknock, Vol. I, p. 95). ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ Ibid., compared with Powel and others.

The continued success of the young princes appears to have fired their ambition and excited them to greater projects. Res applied to his cousin Morgan ap Caradoc ap Jestyn (whose mother Gwladus or Gladys was a daughter of Prince Griffith ap Res) to assist him in an organised attack upon the Normans and English, with the intention of driving them from every district in Wales. He sent a similar message to Madoc ap Meredith, Prince of Powys. But, failing to obtain the assistance of these magnates, he entered Cyveilioc,¹ which belonged to Powysland, and took heavy spoil from thence. Meredith also led his "forces into Morganwg against Morgan ap Caradoc and assaulted the castle of Aberavan, which they demolished, and brought away a rich booty; but Morgan and his men fled, and placed themselves under the sanctuary of the churches and monasteries and under the protection of William ap Robert, Prince of Morganwg,"² i.e. William, Earl of Gloucester, son of Robert de Caen.

King Stephen died on October 25, 1154, and was succeeded on the English throne by Henry II: and not long afterwards "died Meredith ap Griffith ap Res, King of Cardigan and Ystrad Tywi and Dyved, in the 25th year of his age,"³ leaving his brother Res to contend alone against the enemies of his country.

"In the year 1155 Rees ap Gruffyth ap Rees, whom the Welsh booke surnameth Lord Rees [Res Argloith], and all the Latine and English writers of that time name King of South Wales, did gather all his strength togethir to defend his countrie from Owen Gwyneth, whom he heard to be levieing of men to conquer South Wales. So Rees came to Aberdyvi [Aberdovey] over against North Wales, and perceiving the rumour to be false, built a castle there, and so returned backe."⁴ About this time the King banished from England the Flemish soldiers who had been introduced by King Stephen, and gave them permission to settle among their countrymen in West Wales. In 1156 he visited Anjou to put down his brother Geoffrey; from whence he returned in the

¹ Cyveilioc or Kevelioc was a commot or lordship in Montgomeryshire lying to the North of the cantrev Penwedic in Cardigan. ² Gwentian Chronicle. ³ Brut-y-Tywyssogion. ⁴ Powel's Hist. Aberdovey is a seaport in the Parish of Towyn and modern hundred of Estimanor, in the county of Merioneth (Lewis' Top. Dictionary).

following year, fully bent on the conquest of Wales ; his designs being encouraged by the disaffection of the lords of North Wales towards Owen Gwyneth their Prince. Before he had been long on his throne Henry seems to have contemplated an expedition into South Wales and Ireland ; for the Royal " corrody " was conveyed in one ship to Pembroke, for the hire of which Roger, the Constable, had £4. This was in the 3rd year of his reign (ending at Michaelmas 1157) ; and the corrody was probably sent in subservience to his proposed invasion of Wales. This invasion however did not ultimately extend further than the northern seaboard. War stores were in the same year sent some whither from Gloucester ; but it is quite clear that Henry never visited any part of the Border of South Wales. In that year (1157) he raised a great army with which he marched into Flintshire, where he was met with spirit by Owen the Prince of North Wales, who successfully resisted the invasion, and baffled the efforts of the King. But, though little was accomplished by force of arms in this war, the expedition was by no means unfruitful to the English in its results, for the Welsh Prince, alarmed at the prospect of a lengthened war with so great a power, was induced to relinquish his high pretensions and submit to the King's terms. By the treaty of peace which ensued it was stipulated that he and his lords should do homage to the King for their lands, and Owen engaged to yield up those castles and districts which had been taken from the English during the reign of King Stephen ; moreover he had to deliver two of his sons as hostages for his future obedience.¹ Having obtained these concessions, and put strong garrisons in the castles of Rhuddlan and Basingwerk, Henry left the remainder of the war to be prosecuted by the Lords of the Marches against the other Welsh Princes, supposing that they would not long continue in arms after the submission of Owen. Nor was he mistaken in his judgement. For at the beginning of the following year (1158) all the Princes of South Wales, except Res ap Griffith, and all the inferior

¹ This is substantiated by an entry on the Middlesex Pipe Rolls where the Sheriffs charge 72 shillings "*pro pannis obsidum Oeni Regis.*"

chieftains and nobles of that country, came to him in England, and there received from him the conditions of a peace, which he accorded to them on their making a full cession to him of all the territories or lordships which had been won from the crown or subjects of England in the reign of his predecessor, and doing homage to him for their own patrimonial estates. In that year the castle of Ystrad Meuric was taken by Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, who had succeeded his brother Gilbert in 1151-2. But no quiet or perfect settlement could be made of South Wales, while Res ap Griffith remained unconquered. The great spirit of that Prince could not patiently endure to see the dominions, which for many ages had belonged to his illustrious ancestors, torn by the arms of ambitious foreigners from him and his children. He, though deserted and betrayed by all his confederates, commanded his people to remove their flocks, herds, and other goods to the wilds of Towy and thence make war on the King of England. Henry, who esteemed his courage and magnanimity and dreaded his further depredations, sent him a friendly invitation to come to his court, with an assurance that he should be graciously received; but threatened, if he refused the favour offered to him, that the whole power of England and Wales should be employed to bring him thither.¹ Accordingly Res, "after having taken counsel with his good men, went to the King's court [at Woodstock], and there he was compelled, against his own will, to make peace with the King" under the promise that he should receive "the Cantrev Mawr, and such other cantrev as the King should be pleased to give him whole and not scattered. Yet the King did not adhere to this, but gave him a piece of land in the territories of each out of several barons. And though Res understood that deceit, he accepted those portions and held them peaceably. And in that interval, though Roger, Earl of Clare [better known as Earl of Hertford] was intent upon entering Cardigan, nevertheless he dared not, until Res had made peace with the King. Afterwards on a muggy day of the calends of June, he came to Ystrad Meuric, and the day following

¹ Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. Vol. II. p. 75.

the calends of June he stored that castle, the castle of Humfrey, the castle of Aberdovey, the castle of Dineir, and the castle of Rhystud."¹

Thus did the Normans re-occupy their former conquests in Cardigan and Carmarthen, and the Lord Res was compelled to do homage to the King for the territories he was allowed to retain, and to give up two of his sons as hostages for his fidelity; a like security having been exacted from all the other Welsh Princes.²

The Norman Lords no sooner re-entered upon their lands than they commenced their former system of aggression upon their neighbours. We are informed by the chronicler that "Walter Clifford carried a booty out of the territory of Res ap Griffith, and killed many of the men of the country nearest to him; for the castle of Llanymddyvri was his possession."³ When that was done, Res despatched messengers to the King to inform him of it; but the King would not cause satisfaction to be made to him for this. Then the family of Res took up arms; and Res joined them at the castle of Llanymddyvri, and subdued the castle. Then Eineon son of Anarawd, nephew to the Lord Res (brother's son), who was young in age and manly in strength, seeing that his uncle Res was released from his agreement and from

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. Humfrey's Castle, afterwards called Castel Howel, was in the parish of Llandyssil, in the modern hundred of Troedryaur, co. Cardigan, but formerly in the commot or lordship of Gwynnyonydd in the cantrev or hundred of Syrwen or Hirwan (Meyrick's Hist. Cardiganshire, p. 149). Dineir or Dynarth and Llanrhystid castles are sometimes assumed to have been the same, but there were probably two castles in the parish of Llanrhystid, one of which was called Castel Rhos. This parish lies in the lower division of the modern hundred of Ilar, but was formerly situate in the commot of Anhunog. See note to page 37. ² Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II, Vol. II, p. 76. ³ Llanymddyvri or Llandovery Castle, which occurs so often in Welsh history, is situated in the parish of Llandingat in the hundred of Perveth, co. Carmarthen, 27 miles E.N.E. from Carmarthen, a pleasant locality in the upper part of the vale of Towy (Lewis' Top. Dictionary). It would have been in the ancient cantrev of Ffiniog and therefore not in the district assigned to Res by the King. This cantrev is the same as that which is elsewhere called Cantrev Bychan (or the little cantrev), which was given by Henry I, to Richard fitz Ponz, the father of the first Walter de Clifford, whose heirs contested the possession with the descendants of the ancient Welsh Lords. The second Walter de Clifford married Margaret, daughter of Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth and widow of John de Braose, by whom he had an only daughter and heiress Matilda or Maude de Clifford, who married first William de Longespee, and secondly John Giffard of Brimsfield. By the former she had a daughter Margaret, wife of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, whose sole daughter and heiress Alice was thrice married but died without issue. Being left a young widow by the early death of her first husband, Matilda de Clifford was forcibly abducted from her own Manor house and taken to the castle of Brimsfield by John Giffard, who subsequently fined 300 marks for having married her without the King's licence. By John Giffard she had two daughters, her eventual coheirs, namely, Katherine wife of Nicholas Audley, of Helagh. and Alianore wife of Fulk le Strange, of Blackmere.

every oath he had given to the King, also lamenting the subjection of his own nation through the deceit of enemies, made an attack upon the castle of Humfrey, and slew the bravest knights, and all the garrison of the castle, and carried away with him the whole booty and spoil of the castle. And then when Res ap Griffith perceived that he could not preserve anything of what the King had given him, except what he could gain by his arms, he made an attack upon the castles that had been subdued by the Earls and Barons in Cardigan, and burned them. And when the King heard of this, he entered South Wales with an army,"¹ by the sea coast of Glamorgan; "but seeing the Welsh nation gathering from all parts to Res, he offered him terms of peace,"² which were accepted; and when Res had given him pledges, and had certain castles assured to him by the King in return, the latter went back to England, and thence proceeded to Normandy, in September, 1158.³ When Res, however, went to take possession of the castles that were assigned to him the garrisons refused to deliver them up.⁴ Whereupon he collected his forces and ravaged the country of Dyvet, conquering and burning the castles which the Normans had erected there. This was in the year 1159. He then brought his little army to Carmarthen and besieged it, but was obliged to raise the siege on the approach of Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, with a large force to relieve it. Earl Reginald was joined on this occasion by William, Earl of Gloucester, Roger, Earl of Clare, and two other Earls, as also by Cadwalader ap Griffith, the brother, and Howel and Cynan, the sons of Owen Gwyneth, Prince of North Wales, who had been induced to join the English by the promise of having the lordship of South Wales made over to him. Res, unable to resist so formidable an opposition retreated to the mountains of Cevn Rester in which strong post he remained in security. The English army encamped at the castle of Dynevor, "but, not daring to approach the place where Res was, they returned home empty handed. After that they offered a truce to Res which

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Gwentian Chronicle. ³ Powel, verified by Mr. Eyton.

⁴ Gwentian Chronicle.

he accepted; and he permitted his men to return to their country."¹

He appears to have conquered and taken possession of the castles of Dynevor and Llandovery in or about the year 1161,² and probably retained possession of them during the following year.

On the King's return from Normandy in 1163 he invaded South Wales with a strong force to reduce its Prince to submission, and Res appears to have been betrayed by the men of Brecknock, who interfered between him and the King and persuaded him to give the King a meeting, at a place called Pencadaer, in Carmarthenshire. Giraldus thus describes the affair; "Not far to the north of Caermardyn, namely at Pencadair, that is, the head of the chair, Rhys the son of Gruffydd, was, more by stratagem than force, compelled to surrender, and was carried away into England."³ He was not long afterwards released by the King, to whom he did homage at Woodstock⁴ for his lands, and gave hostages for his future fidelity. According to the Gwentian Chronicle the King made over to him on this occasion the castle of Dynevor and the Cantrev Mawr, which were probably then in his hands. I presume that these would have formed the whole of his possessions at this period, and that the land of Cardigan was now in the tenure of its Norman lord, de Clare. The hostages given by Res were his nephews Eineon ap Anarawd and Cadogan ap Meredith ap Griffith. And these were soon afterwards treacherously slain through the agency of the Norman Barons, to whose custody they had probably been committed by the King. Eineon, the son of Anarawd ap Griffith, was foully murdered in his sleep by one of his own men at the instigation of the English; and Cadogan ap Meredith was slain after the like manner by Walter de Clifford son of Richard fitz Pons. Res was at this time in quiet possession of Cantrev Mawr and the castle of Dynevor; but the murder of his nephews and the failure of the King's promises afforded him a pretext for breaking the peace in the

¹ Brut-y-Tywyssogion. ² Annales Cambriæ. ³ Itin. Lib. I. cap. 10. Hoare's Giraldus, Vol. I, p. 175. ⁴ Bartholomæi Cotton. Historia Anglicana, sub anno gratiæ mclxiii. "Rex Scottorum Malcolmus et Resus princeps Demeitiae, id est Australium Walensium, cum aliis regibus et majoribus Cambriæ, fecerunt homagium regi Anglorum Henrico et filio ejus Henrico, Kalendas Julii, apud Wudestok."

following year (1164), and, entering the lands of Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, by whose means Eineon was said to have been put to death, he "dismantled and burned the castle of Aber Rheidiol¹ and the castle of Mabwynion,² and reconquered a second time the whole of Cardigan;"³ from which, however, we must except the castle of Aberteivi or Cardigan. Having thus possessed himself of the land of Cardigan he carried his victorious arms into Dyvet, attacked the Flemings settled there, and ravaged all their country; from whence he returned to Dynevor, with great spoils and much honour, about the end of the year 1164. It was probably at this period that he founded the Abbey of Strata Florida or Ystradflur for monks of the Cistercian order, in the commot of Mefenydd and land of Cardigan, which afterwards became the burial place of his family.⁴

During the winter, Prince Res negotiated with all the other Welsh Princes. He reproached them with their cowardice and pusillanimity. He shewed them how favourable the time then was for an attempt to deliver themselves and their country from the oppression of foreigners; there being dissensions in England between the church and state; an archbishop of Canterbury exiled;

1 The castle of Aber Rheidiol was situate in the commot of Anhunog in Cardiganshire South of Aberystwith. 2 Castell Mabwynion, or the castle of the sons of Wynion, was situated in the parish of Llanarth in the modern hundred of Moythen, co. Cardigan. It formerly gave its name to a commot and extensive lordship in the cantrev y Castell or Castle hundred. This lordship remained with the elder branch of Res' descendants until the greater part of it was forfeited to the crown and granted by King Edward I. to a representative of a younger branch, by whom it was shortly afterwards forfeited for rebellion, when it lapsed once more to the crown. 3 Brut-y-Tywysogion. 4 Mr. Roberts, the learned writer of a very able paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* on this subject, supposes an earlier foundation for this religious House, chiefly on the strength of Leland's statement "*Rhesus filius Theodori princeps Suth-Walliae primus fundator*" (a statement which has also been followed by Dugdale), and a passage from the works of Lewis Glyn Cothi (Roberts' Strata Florida, in *Arch. Cambrensis*, Vol. III, p. 110). But I have much doubt as to this earlier foundation. The patronymic was sometimes given rather loosely from one of the ancestors, and not always from the father, in the same way that it is often given in the genealogies of Holy Scripture, so that Res ap Griffith may possibly have been the person meant by Leland under the name of Res ap Tudor; and the assertion, in the Brut, that "in that year (viz. 1164 according to the writer's dates), by the permission of God and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, came a convent of monks first to Strata Florida," corroborates the statement of the Lord Res in his own foundation charter, where he describes himself as the founder. Sir C. Hoare gives the following sketch of the abbey: "This monastery is situated in the wildest part of Cardiganshire, surrounded on three sides by a lofty range of mountains, called by Giraldus Cambrensis 'Ellennith'; a spot admirably suited to the severe and recluse order of the Cistercians. But wild and desolate as its present appearance may seem, how much more so must it have been in former times, when King Edward, for the better security of his subjects from the dangers they were likely to incur in these solitary districts, ordered the highways to be repaired and the surrounding woods to be cut down."

his cause supported equally by Rome and by France ; and a great probability of war between Louis and Henry on that and other accounts. These instigations so influenced them, and they were so animated by the success which had attended his enterprizes, that not only Owen Gwyneth and all his sons, but his brother Cadwalader, who had married a sister of the Earl of Hertford and was moreover under many obligations to King Henry, as well as the Princes of Powis and other Welsh chieftains, now took up arms to recover their independence.

Provision having been made for levying soldiers against Res ap Griffith at the parliament held at Northampton the year before, the King, upon his arrival in England from Normandy, found some forces already assembled, with which he marched into Flintshire, where David, one of the sons of Owen Gwyneth, had been making grievous depredations ; but he found, on his arrival at Rhuddlan that the Welshmen, after ravaging the country, had retired with their plunder to the vale of Clwyd in Denbighshire ; whereupon he contented himself with strengthening the garrisons of all his castles in Flintshire, and then returned to England to augment his forces ; for he knew how great a war he had to sustain, and how difficult he should find it to vanquish so courageous and warlike a nation, now that they were united, which they never had been since their first confederacy against William Rufus. That he might be able to oppose this formidable league, he not only raised an army of chosen men out of all his British territories, but brought over many troops from Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Bretagne and Flanders. With this combined force, the greatest that had ever been drawn together against Wales by any King of England, he marched to Powisland, which he entered at Oswestry (in July, 1165.¹) The Welsh Princes awaited him at Corwen in Edeyrneon ; and, when the King heard that they were so near him, he advanced to the river Ceiriog, and, for fear of ambuscades, he commanded the woods, that covered the banks on both sides of it, to be cut down. But while this was being done, a body of Welshmen, without any orders from their leaders, fell upon his vanguard, in which he had posted all the flower

¹ Eyton's Ant. of Shropshire, Vol. X, p. 323.

of his army. A bloody action ensued. The Welsh fought bravely; but Henry at last gained the pass, and came to the mountain of Berwin, one of the highest in Wales, at the foot of which he encamped. The Welsh hung like a dark cloud, at the top and on the sides of it, waiting for an occasion to fight the King with advantage, who found it impracticable to attack them in the post they had taken, and was very uneasy in his own; for the flying parties of the Welsh cut off his provisions, and his soldiers, being afraid to stir from their camp, were soon distressed by a great scarcity of victuals and forage.¹ At this time there fell on a sudden such excessive and violent rains, followed by such inundations and torrents of water pouring down from the mountains into the valley where the King was encamped, that he was forced to retire, with great loss of men and ammunition, and leave his enemies in possession of the field.² But, moved with rage at being baffled in his designs, he cruelly ordered the eyes of his hostages to be torn out in revenge. Among these were Cynwric and Meredith, sons of the lord Res ap Griffith, and two of the sons of Prince Owen Gwyneth.³

Henry now retired to Chester, where he awaited the arrival of some ships from Ireland, which he had hired for the purpose of invading Wales by sea and infesting the maritime parts without attempting to penetrate into the heart of the country. But finding the number of ships, when they arrived, to be insufficient for his purpose, he discharged them with their pay and returned with his army to England.

In the same year, about the Kalends of November (i.e. Nov. 1) 1165, Prince Res ap Griffith laid siege to the

¹ Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. ² Mr. Eyton thinks the Welsh account of Henry's arms having met with such uninterrupted disaster in the campaigns of 1165 must be an exaggeration. He says; "In 1164 I find notice of only three Welsh hostages in Henry's hands, and they were at Hereford. In 1165, at Michaelmas, he had no less than twenty five hostages at Bridgenorth alone. The Welsh Annalists, though they admit the King's possession of hostages, fail to account for his getting them."

³ Brut-y-Tywyssogion (D), and Gwentian Chronicle. It is more probable that one only of the sons of Res ap Griffith was blinded on this occasion, namely Meredith, his illegitimate son by Gwendyth, daughter of Cynddelw ap Brochwel, who is described in the Heraldic pedigrees as Meredith Iddall (or the blind). I suppose Cynwric or Kenwrick, the other hostage (who was also an illegitimate son of Res according to the Heraldic Pedigrees), to have escaped this cruel fate, and to be the same with him who is afterwards described by Giraldus Cambrensis as meeting Archbishop Baldwin and his suite in their progress of 1188.

castle of Aberteivi or Cardigan and took it, by which he completed his conquest of Cardiganshire. He now turned his arms against Dyvet and made himself master of the castle of Cilgerran, one of the strongest in Wales, in which he captured his cousin Robert fitz Stephen, the son of Nest, from whose lands he carried away a rich booty.¹

In the following year, 1166, the Normans and Flemings from the land of Pembroke made a vigorous attack upon the castle of Cilgerran but were repulsed with great loss. And again "a second time they fought against Cilgerran in vain, without getting the castle."²

In the year 1167 we find the Lord Res uniting his forces with Owen Gwyneth and his brother Cadwalader, the Princes of North Wales, against Owen Cyveilioc, Prince of Powis, who had now allied himself with the English. They took from him Caereinion, which they gave to his cousin Owen Vychan, son of Madoc ap Meredith, Prince of Powis Fadoc; and from thence proceeded to Tafolwern (a lordship in the commot of Cyveilioc) which they also took; and this was given over to the Lord Res ap Griffith, as it was said to have formerly appertained to his dominions.³

In the close of the same year "Owen and Cadwalader, Princes of Gwyneth, and the Lord Res, Prince of South Wales, accompanied by their armies, came against the castle of Rhuddlan in Tegeingl; and there they remained three months erecting a castle, after breaking down the castle which they found there, and burning it, with the castle of Prestatyn; and they returned happy and joyful to their country."⁴

About this time the castle of Abereynaun was built by the Lord Res ap Griffith, who was driven soon afterwards from the land of Brecknock; which he re-entered with a great army, and, when he had devastated a great part of the land by fire and destroyed the castle of Buellt, he made peace with the King's Justiciary and returned in triumph to his own land.⁵

In the year 1168 "Robert, the son of Stephen, the constable, was released out of his coosen's the Lord Rees his prison, and was sent to Ireland with a great power to

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. The castle of Cilgerran was in Pembrokeshire, just over the border, and about two miles south of Cardigan. ², ³, & ⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

⁵ Annales Cambrie.

succour Dermot son to Murchart, who landed at Lochgarmon and won it, and so went forward.”¹

Owen Gwyneth, son of Griffith ap Cynan, Prince of North Wales died in November 1169; and after some contention between his sons the government was assumed by his son David ap Owen.

Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury was murdered on the 29th of December, 1170.

In the following year, 1171, the Lord Res ap Griffith assembled an army against Owen Cyveilioc, Prince of Powis, “with the intention of subduing him; because as often as Owen could resist the Lord Res, he also resisted him. And Res compelled him to submit; and he took seven hostages from him.”² “In that interval the King became alarmed at the apostolical excommunication, and left the French territories and returned to England giving out that he would go and subdue Ireland. Accordingly he summoned to him all the nobles of England and Wales. And then the Lord Res came to him (at Cardiff?) from the place where he was at Llwyn Danet, about the feast on which was born the lady Mary (Sept. 8); and he entered into friendship with the King, by promising him three hundred horses, and four thousand oxen, with twenty-four hostages.”³ After that the King went into Gwent, and took the city of Caerleon upon Usk from Jerwerth ap Owen ap Caradoc ap Griffith, who raised an army after the King’s departure, and destroyed the town, burning the castle and devastating the country.

“Then the King proceeded with a vast army into Pembroke on the 11th day of the calends of October, and gave to the Lord Res Cardigan, Ystrad Tywi, Arwistli, and Elvael, and in that summer the Lord Res built the castle of Aberteivi, with stone and mortar, which he had previously demolished when he took it from the Earl of Clare and captured Robert, son of Stephen by Nest the

¹ Powel’s Hist. Robert fitz Stephen landed in Ireland about the middle of May 1169 in Banough Bay, not far from Wexford, which had been promised to him and his brother Maurice fitz Gerald, together with the two adjacent cantreys, by Dermot ex-King of Leinster. These early successes of Fitz Stephen, followed by the victories of Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, in the ensuing year, induced King Henry to undertake the conquest of Ireland in 1171. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. Owen Cyveilioc is here described as son-in-law of the Lord Res. He is generally asserted to have married Gwenthlian daughter of Prince Owen Gwyneth; but he may possibly have married a daughter of the Lord Res for his second wife. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

daughter of Res ap Tudor. . . . And then Res went from the castle of Aberteivi to the castle of Pembroke, to speak with the King, on the 12th day of the calends of October, and that day was a Saturday.¹ And Res ordered the horses, which he had promised the King, to be collected at Aberteivi, that they might be in readiness to be sent to the King. And on the following day, Sunday, Res returned; and he selected eighty-six horses, to be sent the next day to the King. And having come to Y Ty Gwyn (the White House) he heard that the King had gone to Menevia (St. David's); and in Menevia the King made an offering of two choral caps of velvet, intended for the singers serving God and St. David; and he also offered a handful of silver, about ten shillings. Here the King was entertained by David fitz Gerald, the Bishop of St. David's. And shortly after dinner the King mounted horse and returned to Pembroke. And on that day, which was Michaelmas Day, there was a heavy fall of rain."²

When Res heard of Henry's return to Pembroke, "he sent the horses to the King, beforehand, that he might go to the King after he had received the horses."³ And on the horses being brought before the King, he took thirty-six that he had selected, saying that it was not from want of them that they were accepted, but to express his thanks to Res more than before. And when they had come together to the White House the King released to him his son Howel, who had been long with him in England as a hostage; and the King granted him time in respect of the other hostages, which Res was bound to deliver to him; and also in respect of the tribute until the King should come from Ireland."⁴

¹ There is some discrepancy and a miscalculation of dates in this passage from the Brut. Sept. 20, 1171, fell on a Monday. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ The conduct of Res, on this occasion, reminds us of the meeting of Jacob with his brother Esau, and this is not the only passage in the history of the Welsh at this time which recalls the manners and customs of early scriptural times. ⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion. Howel, who was called Sais or the Englishman (probably on account of his long residence in England as a hostage in the King's custody) was a natural son of Res by Ysteder the daughter of Caradoc ap Llowrodd (*Her. Vis. Wal.*, Vol. II, p. 99). Though he escaped mutilation at the hands of the English, a fate but too common with hostages in those days, he is said to have afterwards been cruelly blinded by his brother Anarawd, another of Res' illegitimate sons, about the year 1194. Notwithstanding this calamity he continued for some years to take his part in the petty warfare of his time. According to the *Annales Camb.* he died in 1199, on his return towards Wales from the Court of King John, at Striguil, where, as some say, he was seized with a sickness which carried him off, or, as others say, he was slain by the Normans. But, according to the Brut he was treacherously assassinated at Cemaes in the year 1204-5 by his brother Maelgon's men, and was buried near his brother Griffith at Strata Florida.

The English fleet was now ready for action, but the expedition was for some weeks delayed by unfavourable winds. At length the King set sail from Milford Haven on Sunday, the eve of St. Luke (October 17), 1171, and landed at Waterford on the following day. Here he received the homage of many of the Irish Kings and Princes, and remained for the winter at Dublin.

In the ensuing year, 1172, there was a dreadful mortality among his army, which suffered from the use of the unfermented wines and unaccustomed food; and Henry, having received unfavourable advice from Normandy where the Pope's legatees had threatened to lay his dominions under an interdict, returned from Ireland, after making Hugh de Lacy his Justiciary and leaving the Earl of Pembroke in possession of Leinster.

The King set sail from Wexford, with only two ships in his train, and arrived the same day at Portfinnan, in South Wales.¹ "On Good Friday he arrived at Pembroke; and there he remained for Easter. On Easter Monday he had an interview with Res, on the road, at Talacharn; and from thence he went to England."²

Henry soon afterwards appointed the Lord Res his Justiciary of South Wales; after which he repaired to Normandy without further delay.

In the following year, 1173, when Henry the young King, as he was called, rebelled against his father, the old King was faithfully supported by the Lord Res ap Griffith, who sent to him Howel his son, beyond the sea, with a retinue to serve him. "And the King received him honourably, and was extremely thankful to Res."³

Again in the year 1175, we find him acting the part of mediator between his countrymen and the English King. Henry and his son had now been reconciled, and they held a great council at Gloucester, on the 29th of June, for settling the peace of South Wales and the borders.

The commotions, occasioned by taking, from Jerwerth ap Owen, Caerleon upon Usk, and by the slaughter of

¹ Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II, Vol. III, p. 94. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. According to Lyttelton Henry embarked at Wexford on Easter Monday, April 17, 1172; so that, if this be true, his interview with Res must have taken place a few days later.

³ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

one of his sons by the English, had been effectually appeased, in 1172, by the commission of Chief Justice over all South Wales, which the Lord Res had then received from Henry, and which he exercised with great prudence and fidelity towards him. But when he was summoned, in 1174, to serve in England against the Earl of Derby, Caerleon, which the English had rebuilt, was retaken by Jerwerth.¹ It was again recovered by the English, however, in the following year; and Res, returning into Wales from the siege of Tutbury Castle, persuaded Jerwerth and all the Princes of the South who had been in opposition to the King to go with him to Gloucester, and make their submission, under the promise of a pardon. The Lords who attended Res on this occasion were Cadwallon ap Madoc, of Melenith, his cousin; Eineon Clyd, of Elvel, and Eineon ap Res, of Gwrthryneon, two of his sons-in-law; Morgan ap Caradoc ap Jestyn, of Glamorgan, his nephew by his sister Gladys; Griffith ap Ivor, of Senghenyth; Jerwerth ap Owen, of Caerleon; and Seissyll ap Dyfnwal, who was then the husband of his sister Gladys.² These all received the

¹ Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II, Vol. III, p. 178. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. Cadwallon ap Madoc, Lord of Melenith, and his brother Eineon Clyd, Lord of Elvel, were the sons of Madoc ap Idnerth, Lord of Melenith and Elvel, by his wife Reinalt the daughter of Griffith ap Cynan, Prince of North Wales, and sister of Gwennlian the mother of the Lord Res. Idnerth the father of Madoc was the son of Cadogan, son of Elystan Glodryth Prince of Ferlys, the country between the Wye and the Severn. The lordships or cantrevs of Melenith and Elvel were situate in the present county of Radnor, and were probably co-extensive with the two Rural Deaneries bearing those names in the Diocese of St. David's and Archdeaconry of Brecknock. Gwrthryneon was a commot or lordship in the cantrev Arustli, and present county of Radnor. I am unable to give any information about its lord, Eineon ap Res; but it is probable that he was a descendant of Elystan Glodryth and a coparcener of his lands. Morgan ap Caradoc was a descendant of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Lord of Glamorgan. His mother Gwladys (or Gladys) sister of the Lord Res is said to occur in a Margan charter. By her Caradoc was father of the said Morgan, and also of Meredith (who married Nest), Owen, and Cadwallon. Giraldus, who in 1188 mentions these sons and their relationship to the Lord Res, adds that Cadwallon killed Owen from malice, and was himself crushed by the falling of a castle wall. Owen was the owner of a greyhound celebrated for fidelity to his master, and which, on his death, William Earl of Gloucester gave to King Henry II (Arch. Cambrensis, 3rd series, Vol. XIII., p. 5). The early descents of this family require some further elucidation. Jestyn ap Gwrgan, the founder of the 5th Royal Tribe of Wales, who obtained from his father Gwrgan ap Ithel, Lord of Glamorgan, the commot of Trev Essylt in 994, and married his first wife in the same year, cannot (as assumed by the Heralds) be the same with Jestyn ap Gwrgan who died about 1092, after his defeat by Robert fitz Hamon, nor the father of Caradoc ap Jestyn, whose son Morgan did homage to King Henry II, in 1175. This Morgan ap Caradoc was Lord of Avan or Aberavan in Glamorgan, and in 1188 he guided Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus from Margan across the treacherous sands of Avan and Neath, to their next stage at Swansea; he was moreover a benefactor to the Abbey of Margan. He died about 1207-8, leaving issue Lleisan ap Morgan, Lord of Avan, Morgan Gam (or the crooked), who succeeded his brother Lleisan, and other children (Arch. Cambrensis, 3rd series, Vol. XIII., p. 7). Griffith ap Ivor, Lord of Senghenyth, is wrongly

King's pardon and returned in peace to their lands, after that the King had restored to Jerwerth his castle of Caerleon upon Usk. And in order to unite more closely his vassals both English and Welsh, who were present at the council, the King obliged them to take an oath, that if any one should be separately attacked by any other power in Wales, all the rest should unite in his defence.¹ "Immediately after that Seissyll ap Dyfnwal was slain, through the treachery of the Lord of Brecknock [William de Braose], in the castle of Abergavenny, and with him Geffrei his son, and many of the chieftains of Gwent; and then the Normans repaired to the court of Seissyll ap Dyfnwal, and, after seizing Gwladys his wife, they killed his son Cadwalader, and on that day there was a miserable slaughter of the good people of Gwent; and after that most open and flagitious treachery, none of the Welsh dared trust to the Normans. And then Cadell ap Griffith [brother of the Lord Res] died of a severe disease, and was buried at Strata Florida, after taking the religious habit."² This abbey had been built and endowed by the Lord Res ap Griffith in or about the year 1164. In a subsequent charter of the year 1184, in which he confirms and amplifies his original grant, he styles himself the founder of the abbey.³ This charter of Res "*Sudwalliæ proprietarius princeps*" was witnessed by his

described in the Brut-y-Tywysogion as nephew to the Lord Res, by his sister Nest. Ivor Bach, the father of Griffith ap Ivor, acquired the lordship of Senghennyth by marriage with Nest, the daughter and heiress of Madoc ap Caradoc ap Eineon ap Collwyn, which Eineon ap Collwyn, having taken part with fitz Hamon at the conquest of Glamorgan, received as his share the cantrev of Senghennyth, an immense but almost valueless district, wholly mountainous, lying between the Taff and the Rhymney, and extending from the borders of Brecknock to Whitchurch and the margin of Cibwr (Glamorgan Pedigrees, by G. T. Clark). Griffith ap Ivor himself, however, is said to have married Ellen the daughter (perhaps it should be the niece?) of the Lord Res, by whom he had a son Res who succeeded him (Glamorgan Pedigrees). Jerwerth ap Owen, Lord of Caerleon Wentlwg, was the son of Owen, son of Caradoc, who was Lord of Ystradyw, Gwent Uchcoed, and Wentlwg, at the time of the Norman conquest, and died in 1069 or 1070, the son of Griffith who fortified Caerleon and held it at his death in 1054 or 1057 (for the accounts differ as to the year), the son of Rhydderch ap Jestyn who was slain in 1031 (Arch. Cambrensis, 1st series, Vol. III, p. 331). Jerwerth, who did not live many years after doing his homage to the King in 1175, was succeeded by his son Howel ap Jerwerth, whose only child Morgan had an only daughter Gwervil married to Griffith, by whom she had a son Meredith, who was found to be heir to his grandfather Morgan ap Howel. Sir Morgan ap Meredith, the son of Meredith, left an only daughter Angharad, heiress of St. Clair, who married Llewelyn ap Ivor, Lord of Tredegar, from which marriage the present Lord Tredegar is descended (Arch. Camb. as before).

¹ Warrington's History of Wales quoting from Benedict Abbas, p. 110, and Brompton's Chronicle, sub. ann. 1175, p. 1102. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. V., p. 632.

sons Griffith, Res, and Meredith, in the presence of many of the army in the church of St. Bridget at Rhaiader (in Radnorshire).¹

In the year 1176, at Christmas time, "the Lord Res held a grand festival at the castle of Aberteivi, wherein he appointed two sorts of contention; one between the bards and poets, and the other between the harpers, fiddlers, pipers, and various performers of instrumental music; and he assigned two chairs for the victors in the contentions; and these he enriched with great gifts. A young man of his own court, the son of Cibon the fiddler, obtained the victory in instrumental music; and the men of Gwyneth obtained the victory in vocal song; and all the other minstrels obtained from the Lord Res as much as they asked for, so that there was no one passed over. And that feast was proclaimed a year before it was held, throughout Wales, and England, and Bretagne, and Ireland, and many other countries."²

In the following year, 1177, about the middle of May, the King held a parliament at Oxford, to which came David ap Owen, of North Wales, Res ap Griffith, of South Wales, Owen Cyveilloc, of Powis, and other Welsh Lords, whom Henry had summoned to confer with him upon the state of their country. At this parliament he gave Ellesmere to David, and the territory of Merioneth to Res ap Griffith.³

But the old spirit of enmity between the two races was not yet eradicated; and in this same year Einieon Clyd was treacherously slain by the English who lay in ambush to kill him. His death was avenged by the Lord Res, who ravaged their lands in Melenith, and built at that time the castle of Rhaiader Gwy on the precipitous ground above the noted cataract of that name on the river Wye.⁴

In the following year 1178, the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwyneth came against Res ap Griffith; and Res went against them and conquered them and put them to shameful flight.⁵

In the year 1181 fresh breaches of the peace occurred between the English and Welsh in South Wales; during

¹ Cart. 10, E. III, m. 6, n. 9. *per inspecimus*; also Pat. 4, Ric. II, part 1, m. 13.
² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II, Vol. III, p. 301. ⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion, and Gwentian Chronicle. ⁵ Ibid.

which Ranulph le Poer, sheriff of Gloucestershire, was slain by the men of Gwentland, in revenge, it is said, for the murder of their lord Seissyll ap Dyfnwal. The King was unable at this time to pay much attention to these disturbances being called away to restrain and pacify the quarrels of his sons. For the greater part of the next two years he was occupied in settling their disputes on the continent, and reducing them to a state of submission to himself. His eldest son Henry, the young King, died at a castle in the viscounty of Turenne in the spring of the year 1183; and Henry at length returned to England in the summer of 1184.

During that time the commotions on the borders of South Wales had been continued, and had now reached such a height that Res ap Griffith, who had hitherto remained faithful to the King and done such able service as his Justiciary, was himself in arms against the English, together with two of his nephews, having taken forcible possession of sundry lands and castles belonging to the crown. We may infer that he was driven to this course by the fresh encroachments of his Norman neighbours who were no longer restrained by the observation of their Royal Master; for we find it recorded of the Lord Res, a few years later, that he took the castle of St. Clare, and *recovered* his castles of Dynevor and Carmarthen, which had probably been wrested from him by the English. The King therefore raised an army, as soon as his other affairs would permit, and marched against him in person. Whereupon Res sought a safe conduct and came to the King at Worcester, where he made his submission, and promised to give his son for an hostage, to restore all his late conquests, and to do everything in his power to reduce his nephews to an entire submission. In order that he might be enabled to perform these engagements, a truce was granted to him, at the expiration of which he came again to the King, who was then at Gloucester, but failed to bring with him either his son or nephews. Yet the King was induced, on conferring with this Prince, to give up his purpose of marching into Wales, and the Lord Res was suffered to return thither in peace.¹

¹ Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II, Vol. III, p. 399.

CHAPTER V.

In the April of 1185 King Henry was again obliged to repair to Normandy for the purpose of reconciling his sons Richard and Geoffrey. After his departure from England the Welshmen made great ravages in Glamorganshire, and fired the town of Cardiff; but, attempting to besiege the castle of Neth, they were repulsed and beaten by an army which came from England to the relief of the fortress. The Welshmen were again defeated in the following year by Englishmen from the counties of Chester and Hereford; and Henry, who had now returned to the country, thought it a favourable time to offer them a peace. He accordingly sent his Grand Justiciary, Ranulph de Glanville, who had lately returned from France, to treat with Res ap Griffith and the other chiefs of South Wales, not only for the purpose of terminating the war and bringing the Welshmen to their fealty, but also of raising a body of infantry from among them to serve him in his wars with France; in which purpose he was fully successful.¹

In the year 1186 Cadwalader ap Res (one of the illegitimate sons of the Lord Res ap Griffith), was privily slain in Dyvet, and buried at the Ty Gwyn, or White House upon Taf, i.e. Whitland Abbey.² And in this same year we first hear of the turbulent Maelgon ap Res who took such a prominent part in the affairs of Wales in the succeeding reign. He is said by the Heralds to have been an illegitimate son of the Lord Res, by Gwervil, daughter of Llewelyn ap Res ap Wardav Vrych; but he attained at one time to the chief power in South Wales, and transmitted to his descendants a portion of his father's territories. He is described in the chronicle as being a man of middle height, and comely person, fierce towards his enemies, amiable towards his friends, ready of gifts, victorious in war, and dreaded by all the neighbouring

¹ Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II, Vol. III, p. 442. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion.

Princes. He appears to have been a special scourge to the Flemings, and at this time we are told that he "brought his power against Tenbye, and by plaine force wan the towne, and, spoiling the same, he burned it to ashes."¹

The year 1188 was remarkable for the preaching of the crusade by Archbishop Baldwin, who came into South Wales accompanied by Giraldus, the Archdeacon of Brecknock.² It happened at this time, while Res was attending the conference with the Archbishop and Ranulph de Glanville at Hereford, that the Welsh Prince was one day sitting at dinner in the house of William de Vere, Bishop of Hereford, by the side of that prelate and Walter, son of Robert de Clare, both of whom were descended from the family of Clare. On this occasion Giraldus de Barri, Archdeacon of Brecknock (who was nearly related to Res) approached the table, and standing before them thus facetiously addressed himself to Prince Res; "You may congratulate yourself, Rhys, on being now seated between two of the Clare family, whose inheritance you possess."³ For at that time he held all Cardiganshire, which he had recovered from Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford. Res, a man of excellent understanding and particularly ready at an answer, immediately replied; "It is indeed true that for sometime we were deprived of our inheritance by the Clares, but as it was our fate to be losers, we had at least the satisfaction of being dispossessed of it by noble and illustrious personages, not by the hands of an idle and obscure people." The Bishop, desirous of returning the compliment to Prince Res, replied; "And we also, since it has been decreed that we should lose the possession of those territories, are well

¹ Powell's Hist. ² Giraldus de Barri, better known as Giraldus Cambrensis, the author of many learned works now extant, was descended from an illustrious lineage, being the fourth son of William de Barri, by his second wife Angharad, daughter of Nest the daughter of Res ap Tudor, and sister of Robert fitz Stephen and Maurice fitz Gerald. Giraldus de Barri was born about the year 1147, at the castle of Manorbeer, in Pembrokeshire. He was made Archdeacon of Brecknock in 1175, and on the death of his uncle David fitz Gerald, Bishop of St. David's, he was nominated to that see, but his advancement was opposed by Henry II, who was jealous of the promotion of one so nearly allied to the Welsh Princes. ³ The father of William de Vere, Bishop of Hereford, was that Alberic de Vere who was killed in a London riot in 1140. There is some contradiction among the genealogists as to who was the mother of William, but Prince Res' speech is enough to decide the question. She was undoubtedly Adeliza the daughter of Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare (whose æra was circa 1088-1123), and not the daughter of Roger de Ivry as some have it (ex. inf. Rev. R. Eyton).

pleased that so noble and upright a Prince as Rhys should be at this time Lord over them."¹ They entered the borders of Wales at Hereford. On leaving Hereford, the Archbishop was again met by Res at Radnor, soon after Ash Wednesday, which fell on March 2, in that year; and many of the nobles impelled by the preaching of Giraldus took the cross. Among these was Eineon, the son of Eineon Clyt, who had married a daughter of the Lord Res; and it seems that Res himself would have been of the number, if he had not been dissuaded from it by the prayers and entreaties of his wife Gwenllian, the daughter of Madoc, Prince of Lower Powis. Giraldus informs us that just as Res was departing from the conference, when he had called together his retainers to take council on the matter, a certain noble youth of his own family, named Griffith, who afterwards took the cross, is reported to have spoken to the following effect; "What man of courage would dislike to make such a journey since the worst that could befall him would be to return home again."²

During his progress through South Wales the Archbishop and his suite were entertained by Res at the Priory of St. Dogmael, and the next day after at his own Castle of Cardigan.³

Before leaving South Wales Giraldus informs us that when starting from Strata Florida for Llanbadarn Vawr they were met, at the borders of a certain wood, by Kenwrick, the son of Res, accompanied by a band of active youths. The young man was tall and handsome, with red and curly hair, being clothed with a light cloak and undergarment only, and having his legs and feet bare, regardless of thorns and briers. He was adorned by nature rather than by art, having much dignity in himself but receiving little from externals. A sermon was thereupon addressed to the three grown up sons of Res, namely Griffith, Maelgon, and Kenwrick, in the presence of their father, and after the brothers had disputed among themselves about taking the cross, Maelgon at length promised to accompany the Archbishop to the

¹ Hoare's Giraldus, p. 22. ² Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, p. 15.
³ Meyrick's Hist. Cardigan, p. 98.

Court of the King and be guided by their counsel in the matter.¹

On reaching the river Dovey, which separates North Wales from South Wales, the Archbishop parted company with the Bishop of St. David's, and with Res ap Griffith, who had conducted them with princely liberality from the castle of Cardigan to the borders of his dominions; and on the following day they were deserted by Maelgon, who found some excuse for breaking his promise to the Archbishop and returning to his own country.²

Henry II. died at Chinon, on July 6, 1189; and was succeeded by his son Richard, who was crowned King of England, on Sunday, September 3, 1189. The late King Henry had always treated Res with marked respect and courtesy, so that whenever he came to his court he used to receive him in person, attended by his nobles. But Richard paid him no such attentions, and when the Welsh Prince came to Oxford, under the safe conduct of the King's brother John, Earl of Moreton, to do homage for his lands, he was not met with the accustomed respect, nor received by the King in person. This treatment was highly resented by the Lord Res, who returned home without speaking to the King.

The conciliatory policy of Henry towards this most eminent of the Welsh Princes had the effect of reconciling him to the English sovereignty; and, under the presidency of one of their own native Princes, the people of South Wales would probably have soon become accustomed to their state of dependence upon the English crown, and their interests would have been gradually united. But the haughty Richard's want of courtesy and due respect for his rank and position had the effect of estranging the best friend he had in Wales, at a time when he should have sought, by every means in his power, to confirm the good feeling which was beginning to grow up between the two nations.

The pride of Res was deeply offended by the slight he considered himself to have received. He threw off his allegiance to the English crown, and seized the opportunity to enlarge the boundaries of his territories and to strengthen his own dominions.

¹ and ² Girald. Camb., Itin. Kambrizæ.

In this same year, 1189, he caused much destruction of property in Ros and Pembroke by fire, despoiled Gower, destroyed the castle of Carnwyllaon, and took other castles in Dyvet which he indolently lost again for lack of proper guarding.

He next besieged the castle of Carmarthen; but when Earl John, the King's brother, came with a large army to oppose him he relinquished the siege, and a peace was privately made between them, upon which Prince John returned to England.¹

About Christmas, however, Res besieged and took the castle of St. Clare, which he gave to his son Howel Sais together with the adjacent country.² He also took the castles of Abercorran³ and Llanstephan; and imprisoned in the castle of Dynevor his son Maelgon who was then in rebellion against him. But Maelgon was soon afterwards taken from thence by his brother Griffith, without his father's knowledge, and delivered over to the custody of William de Braose.⁴

In the following year, 1190, Res built the castle of Kidwelly, which he made the fairest and strongest of all his castles; and at this time his daughter Gwenllian died, "the flower and ornament of all Wales."⁵

In the year 1191, on the day of the Assumption of St. Mary (August 15), he recovered his castle of Dynevor from the English;⁶ and about the same time he lost his son Owen, who died at Strata Florida.⁷

In the year 1192 the Welshmen of Dyvet, under the leadership of Griffith ap Res, took forcible possession of the castle of Llanhauaden.⁸ At this time Prince Res liberated his son Maelgon from captivity against the

1 *Annales Cambriæ*. 2 *Ibid*. The castle of St. Clare stood on the confluence of Cathgenny and the Taf in the county of Carmarthen, and was probably a Welsh castle, formed of a tumulus and wooden piles (*Jones' Hist. Wal.*). It was situate in the ancient commot of Widigadaf and cantrev Mawr. 3 The castle of Abercorran was situate at the mouth of the Taf, opposite to the castle of Llanstephan in the commot of Talacharn and cantrev Mawr. It is the same with the castle of Laugharne or Talacharn, and is sometimes called also in Welsh history the castle of Abercowin (*Jones' Hist. Wal.*). 4 *Annales Cambriæ*. 5 *Brut-y-Tywynsogion*. 6 *Brut-y-Tywynsogion*; and *Annales Cambriæ* (B.). According to the (C.) MS. it was the castle of Kemmer that he took. 7 *Brut-y-Tywynsogion*. Owen was an illegitimate son of the Lord Res by Sybel daughter of Ivan hir of Kaerwedros (*Her. Vis. Wal.*, Vol. II, p. 99). 8 *Gwentian Chronicle*. The castle of Llanhauaden is situate in the present hundred of Dungleddy, co. Pembroke, 3½ miles N.N.W. from Narberth. It was formerly within the commot of Llanhauaden and cantrev Y Coed. Llanhauaden Castle was the head of the Barony in right of which the Bishops of St. David's claimed their seat in the House of Lords (*Lewis' Top. Dic.*).

will of William de Braose; after which he besieged the town of Abertawi (or Swansea) with a strong force, and when he had prosecuted the siege for ten weeks and had almost reduced the citizens by famine to surrender, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise on account of the squabbles between his sons Griffith and Maelgon, and the loss of some of his servants who had been drowned on the preceding day.¹ It was probably at the close of that year that "on Christmas Eve, the family of Maelgon brought missiles with them to break down the castle of Ystrad Meuric," which they demolished.² In the year 1193, about the feast of St. Ciricius, the retainers of Howel Sais "obtained the castle of Gwys by treachery; and captured Philip, son of Gwys [Philip de Gwys], the owner of the castle, with his wife and two sons." Whereupon the Normans and Flemings of Dyvet assaulted the town of Llanhauaden, which was under the power of Howel, "but they were ignominiously driven home again without succeeding in their purpose."³ "And when the said Howel perceived that he could not hold possession of all the castles, without throwing some of them down, he permitted the family of his brother Maelgon to demolish the castle of Llanhauaden. And when the Flemings heard of this, they assembled unexpectedly against the two brothers, attacked them, killed many of their men, and put them to flight, and immediately afterwards the Welsh returned and assembled about the castle, and, to their satisfaction, it was razed to the ground. That year Anarawd, son of Res, seized Madoc and Howel, his brothers, and deprived them of their eyes,"⁴ with the intention of possessing their territory.

Maelgon now gave up to Anarawd the castle of Ystrad Meuric in Cardiganshire, in exchange for his brothers Howel and Madoc whom Anarawd had detained in captivity. This was in 1194. In the same year the Lord Res built the castle of Rhaiader Gwy the second time.⁵ And his own sons, Howel and Maelgon, laid wait for him, and took him prisoner;⁶ but he was released by the means of his blind son Howel, who deceived his brother Maelgon; and the Lord Res recovered the castle

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*. ² *Brut-y-Tywysogion*. ³ *Ibid.* Compared with *Annales Cambriæ*. ⁴ and ⁵ *Brut-y-Tywysogion*. ⁶ *Ibid.* and *Annales Camb.*

of Dynevor, which Maelgon had kept. The sons of Cadwallon ap Madoc, of Melenith, at this time reoccupied the castle of Rhaiader Gwy which they fortified for themselves.

King Richard returned to England from his captivity in the spring of this year, having been absent about four years.

In the ensuing year, 1195, Roger Mortimer came with an army into Melenith, and drove out the sons of Cadwallon. The Flemings also recovered the castle of Gwys.

And then Res and Meredith, the sons of the Lord Res, having gathered together a number of wild heads of the country, came to Dynevor and got the castle from their father's garrison, and the castle of Cantrev Bychan, (i.e. Llandovery Castle) through treachery, by the consent of the men of these parts. "Wherewith their father was sore displeased, and laid private wait for them, and by treason of their owne men (which were afraid anie further to offend their lord and prince) they were taken"¹ at Ystrad Meuric and brought to their father, who placed them in confinement.

In this year William de Braose won the castle of St. Clare, and held it, together with no less than 70 of Howel's retainers, whom he took captive therein.² When Howel was informed of this he destroyed the castle of Newer (or Dynevor?), but retained the land in spite of the English.³ Whether he was at this time acting in concert with his father or with his rebellious brothers Res and Meredith I cannot tell.

Having subdued the revolt of his sons the aged Prince Res was now able to turn his hand against the English. In the year 1196 he "gathered a great armie, and laid siege to the towne and castell of Caermarthyn, and in short time wanne them both, spoiling and destroieng the same, and then returned with great bootie. Then he led his armie to the Marches before the castell of Clun, which after a long siege and manie a fierce assault he got, and burned it; and from thence he went to the castell of Radnor, and likewise wanne it; to the defense whereof came Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Saye [Lord of

¹ Powel's History. ² Annales Camb. ³ Ibid. B.

Richard's castle], with a great armie of Normanes and Englishmen, well armed and tried soldiours. Then Rees, which had wonne the castell, determined not to keepe his men within the walles, but boldlie, like a worthie prince, came into the plaine besides the towne, and gave them battell, where his men (although for the most part unarmed and not accustomed to the battell) declared that they came of Brytaine's blood (whose title the noble Romaine Emperours did so much desire, as a token of manhood and worthines) choosing rather to die with honour in defense of their countrie than to live with shame, [and] did so worthilie behave themselves that their enemies forsooke the field, with great losse of their men, whom Rees pursued till the benefit of the night shadowed them with hir darkness; and forthwith he laid siege to the castle of Payne in Elvel and gat it;"¹ but this castle was restored by him to its owner William de Braose, whose daughter was married to Griffith the son of Res, and with whom he entered into terms of peace.

These gallant exploits closed the Lord Res' career. In the year 1197 there was a great and terrible plague throughout all the isle of Britain and France, in which great numbers perished; and on the viii. Kal. Maii² (April 24), 1197, "died Rees the sonne of Gruffyth ap Rees ap Theodor, Prince of South Wales, the onelie anchor, hope, and staie of all that part of Wales, as he that brought them out of thraldome and bondage of strangers, and set them at libertie, and had defended them diverse times in the field manfullie, daunting the pride and courage of their cruell enemies, whom he did either chase out of the land, or compelled by force to live quietlie at home. Wo to that cruell destinie that spoiled the miserable land of her defense and shield, who, as he descended of noble and princelie blood, so he passed all other in commendable qualities and laudable virtues of the mind; he was the overthrower of the mightie, and setter up of the weake, the overturner of the holdes, the separater of troopes, the scatterer of his foes, among whom he appeared as a wild boare among whelpes, or a lion that for anger beateth his taile to the ground."³ "It is observed that this Prince was the youngest of six towardly sons that his father had

¹ Powel's Hist. ² Annales Theokesberie. ³ Powel's Hist.

by Gwenllian, the fair daughter to the Prince of North Wales, and that he, surviving them all, obtained the dominion of South Wales, which he well and worthily ruled."¹

Our chroniclers are encomiastic of this character, says Yorke,² and state that he was no less remarkable in courage than in the stature and lineaments of his body wherein he excelled most men.

Spes patriæ, columnen pacis, lux urbis et orbis ;

Gentis honos, decus armorum, fulmenque duelli ;

Quo neque pace prior, neque fortior alter in armis.³

His character has been well-nigh libelled by the pen of flatterers. The second volume of the Myfyrian archæology has preserved the following strain of almost heathen adulation ; "Death in that accursed year broke the chain of destiny to reduce the Lord Rhys ap Griffith under his triumphant dominion, the man who was the chief, the shield, the strength of the south, and of all Wales ; the hope and defence of all the tribes of Britons ; descended of a most illustrious line of Kings ; conspicuous for his extensive alliance ; the powers of his mind were characteristic of his descent ; a councillor in his court, a soldier in the field, the safeguard of his subjects, a combatant on the ramparts ; the nerve of war ; the vanquisher of multitudes, &c." We find in the annals of the church of Winchester a strange story relating to the last days of this gallant warrior and popular Prince, which throws a light upon the times in which he lived, while it shows the independence of his spirit and the reckless indifference with which he treated ecclesiastical authority when employed for political purposes. The Annalist informs us that Peter de Leia, Bishop of St. David's, came to the court of King Res (as he is called) to remonstrate with him for disturbing the peace of the Holy church and of his master the King of England, but when he found that his paternal entreaties were altogether bootless, he became very angry and retired from the interview in high displeasure. On the following night the graceless sons of Res, under their father's instructions, pulled the Bishop from his bed, when he had nothing on him but his woollen undergarment and drawers (*staminiâ*

¹ Hengwrt MS. ² Royal Tribes of Wales, p. 42. ³ Pentarchia.

*tantum femoralibusque indutum*¹), and in this half-naked state they irreverently dragged him through the wood near his house, and were hastily taking him to their lord, when he was fortunately rescued from their hands by the men of William de Braose. The next morning the Bishop summoned his Archdeacons and all the Presbyters of his Diocese and, in conjunction with them, proceeded to anathematize both the King and his sons together with their whole land. And not many days afterwards Res died, with the sentence of excommunication still resting upon him. But Griffith, son of Res, being a little more tractable than his father, came to the Bishop, attended by his brothers and friends, and humbly begged his pardon for the offences they had committed, promising due submission and respect to the English King as well as to the Bishop himself. Whereupon the Bishop, with the permission and authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, consented to absolve both the deceased King and his living sons, on condition that not only the sons should be scourged but also the now decomposed body of the King himself.²

Prince Res is said by some to have been buried in the cathedral church of St. David, where a monument on the south side of the altar is shown as his, and another on the north side as that of his son Res Grig;³ but accord-

¹ I have not elsewhere met with the word *Staminia*; but it is presumptively a derivative of *Stamen*, which, in the Glossary of Latin Words appended to the Record Ed. of *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, is rendered "a woollen undergarment, used by the monks instead of hair cloth." ² *Annales de Wintonia*, sub anno. ³ Much has been written on the subject of these monuments, but it yet remains to be decided to whom they really belong. Browne Willis, who is closely followed by Mr. Manby, ascribes the effigy on the South side to Res ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales; and considers the other to represent Owen Tudor, the father of Edmund, Earl of Richmond. He subsequently corrects the latter statement, and assigns the second monument to Res Grig, whom he erroneously calls the son of Res ap Tudor. Mr. Fenton reduces this tradition to its original form, and attributes the tomb to Res ap Griffith, commonly called the Lord Res, and his son Res Grig, respectively. Messrs. Jones and Freeman, the authors of the *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, from whom the above account is borrowed, affirm "It is certain that these, and these alone of the South Welsh Princes, were buried at St. David's, the rest of their family having been buried at Strata Florida Abbey." In corroboration of which they give the following quotations "Anno MCXCVIII Ricardus Rex obiit. Resus filius Grifut Sut Wallie Princeps moritur iv. cal. Maii; ejus corpus apud Sanctam David honorificè humatum est" (*Annales Menevenses*; *Anglia Sacra*, II., p. 549); and "Y vlywyd yn honnog bu uarw Rys Gryc yn Llandeillaw Vawr, ac y cladwyd yn Mynyw yn myml bed y dat" (*Brut-y-Tywysogion*, Myv. Arch. II., p. 456). According to Warrington (*Hist. Wal.* II., p. 5), however, who quotes from MS. of Edwd. Llwyd in Sir John Sebright's collection, and Vaughan's *British Antiquity Reviv'd*, the Lord Res was buried at Ystrad Flur in the abbey of his own foundation. I am disposed to believe that he was buried at St. David's; but these monuments in St. David's cathedral are of much too late a date, judging from the style of the armour, to have been erected at the time of Res ap Griffith's death, in 1197, or that of his son Res

ing to other accounts he was buried in the abbey of his own foundation at Strata Florida, or Ystrad Flur.

Besides the abbey of Strata Florida he likewise founded that of Tallagh or Talley in Carmarthenshire;¹ and was moreover a benefactor to the commandery of Slebech² and other religious Houses.

The Lord Res ap Griffith married Gwenllian, daughter of Madoc ap Meredith, Prince of Lower Powis, by whom, according to Yorke, he had four sons and two daughters.³

Grig, who died in 1223. The armour is that of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The effigy on the South side (a figure of which is given in Hoare's *Giraldus*) represents a man rather advanced in years, in a recumbent attitude, clothed in armour with his vizor raised, booted and spurred: the head which has the conical shaped basanet and camaille, is reclining upon a casque surmounted by the crest,—on a chapeau a lion sejant. The body armour is covered by a jupon, on the breast and back of which are embroidered the wearer's arms [gules] within a bordure enrailed [or] a lion rampant [of the second]. It is not quite clear whether the jupon, which falls in a fringe round the hips, is meant to have sleeves, or whether the figure has a hauberk with short sleeves, those of the tunic appearing beneath them. The hands are clasped; there is a richly decorated belt and sword; the legs have complete plate armour, with genouilleres; the feet have spurs, and rest on a lion. Above it is a skreen and projecting canopy of late perpendicular work. The figure on the North side of the altar is similar in nearly every respect, but evidently the representation of a much younger man. The head, however, reclines on a double cushion, and the heraldic bearings on the jupon are differenced by a label of 3 points. The arms are protected by plate armour, with elbow joints and round plates at the elbows. The hands are broken off, but were originally clasped in prayer. Both these figures are extremely well sculptured in a fine oolite; and it is evident that they both represent members of the same family. We can hardly conceive the position which these tombs occupy being conceded to any but to persons of high rank; and the arms are those of Res ap Tudor and his descendants. These arms were subsequently assumed by the Talbots who married an heiress of the family; but there is no special ground for supposing that any members of this family were buried at St. David's. The authors of the *History and Antiquities of St. David's* are on the whole inclined to believe that these effigies mark the resting place of the Lord Res and his son; their conclusion being based on "the general tradition, the conspicuous position which they occupy, and the mark of cadency on one of the figures." And in order to account for the discrepancy between the style of the armour and the date of their deaths, they conjecture that they might have been put up by one of the Talbot family, whose members possessed great power in South Wales, and were claiming greater, and seem to have regarded themselves as in some sort the representatives of Res ap Griffith. If the principle once be conceded that such monuments may have been erected long after the death of those to whose memories they were put up, there can be no means of identifying them by the style of their architecture or the dress of the figures. If the Talbots had erected such monuments to their remote ancestors they would also have been careful to note more clearly for whom the effigies were intended. There is, however, another way of accounting for these monuments which does not appear to have occurred to the learned antiquaries who have written on the subject. It seems to have escaped their notice that the senior branch of this princely family, the descendants of the Lord Griffith, eldest son of Res, and brother of Res Grig, were extant in the male line, and retaining a portion of their ancient inheritance so late, at least, as the year 1355, and probably later. And whereas they held, in addition to their portion of Cardigan, lands also in Rhôs and the lordship of St. David's, it is not improbable that they may have been buried at the cathedral church of that city. The label of 3 points on the armour of the younger figure seems to me rather to prove that it is not the effigy of Res Grig, who was a younger son, seeing that the label is, almost invariably, the mark of difference assumed by an elder son.

¹ Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*. ² Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, appendix, p. 64.

³ Yorke's *Royal Tribes*, p. 42.

In a full and ancient pedigree, among the visitations of Lewys Dwnn, his sons, by the daughter of Madoc ap Meredith his wife, are stated to have been Griffith, Cadogan, Res Grig, and Meredith Gethin;¹ of whom the first and two last in their order appear as confirming their father's grant to the abbey of Ystrad Flur; but I have met with no other notice of Cadogan, the second son here mentioned, of whose existence I have much doubt.

According to the same authority he had likewise by her a daughter Gwenllian, who married first Rodri ap Owen Gwyneth, and secondly Ednyfed Fychan,² Lord of Brynffenigl in Denbigh land, chief counsellor to Llewelyn ap Jerwerth Prince of North Wales, by whom she was mother of Grono ap Ednyfed, great, great, great, grandfather of Sir Owen Tudor, the grandfather of King Henry VII. Gwenllian was certainly the wife of Ednyfed Fychan, but according to other accounts it was Anne or Agnes, another daughter of the Lord Res, who was the wife of Rodri ap Owen Gwyneth,³ from which marriage the Wynnes of Gwyder descended. Sir John Wynne, in his history of Gwyder, speaks of the daughter of the Lord Res as Rodri's *first* wife and the mother of two of his sons, but he does not mention her name. If she was his first wife she could not have afterwards been married to Ednyfed, unless we suppose her to have been divorced from Rodri on account of their consanguinity. It is more probable, however, that she was not the same with Gwenllian wife of Ednyfed.

The same pedigree mentions also several illegitimate children, namely:—1 Maelgon, by Gwervil daughter of Llewelyn ap Res ap Wardaf Vrych. 2 Morgan,⁴ by Nest daughter of Caradoc Vychan ap Caradoc. 3 Cynwric, by Nest daughter of Griffith Wynn ap Gwalchmai. 4 Howel Sais, Lord of St. Clare, by Ysteder⁵ daughter

¹ and ² Her. Vis. Wal., Vol. II, p. 99. ³ Ibid. p. 69; Giraldus speaks of this marriage of Rodri ap Owen Gwyneth with the daughter of Res ap Griffith as an incestuous one because they were related in the third degree (Itin. Kamb. p. 127). Gwenllian, the mother of Res ap Griffith, and Owen Gwyneth, the father of Rodri, were brother and sister. ⁴ According to the Golden Grove Book, Morgan was own brother to Maelgon being also the son of Res by Gwervil, daughter of Llewelyn ap Res ap Wardaf Vrych (Lord of Ciliewn). The MSS. known as the *Golden Grove Book* consist of three volumes of Pedigrees. They have lately been lodged, by the Earl of Cawdor, at the Public Record Office, in London, with the understanding that they may at any time be reclaimed by himself or his heirs. ⁵ According to the same authority (*Golden Grove Book*, as W. H.) this Ysteder was foster sister to the Lord Res.

and heiress of Caradoc ap Llowrodd. 5 Cadwalader, by Gwenllian daughter of Meredith ap Griffith ap Tudor. 6 Meredith, who was Archdeacon of Cardigan, by Eva daughter of David Vras ap Rydderch. 7 Meredith Iddall (or the blind), by Gwendyth daughter of Cynddelw ap Brochwel of Llangiwig in Emlyn. 8 Owen Caerwedros, by Sabel daughter of Ivan hir of Caerwedros. A daughter Thangwyst, by Gwendyth daughter of Cynddelw ap Brochwel of Llangiwig. And a daughter Gladys wife of Meredith ap Rydderch, whose mother is not mentioned.

Besides these, many other sons and daughters are ascribed to him by various writers, as Anarawd and Madoc, who are mentioned in the Welsh Chronicle;¹ a daughter who married Enieon Clyd, Lord of Elvel;² a daughter who married Enion ap Res, Lord of Werthryneon or Gwrthryneon;³ a daughter who married William Martyn, Lord of Kemes;⁴ Ancreta, wife of Bledri, Lord of Dyvet;⁵ Catherine, wife of Cadivor ap Dyfnwal, Lord of Castell Howel in the commot of Gwynionyth, in Cardiganshire;⁶ and Elen, wife of Griffith ap Ivor Bach and mother of his son Res ap Griffith.⁷

The state of morals at the courts of the Welsh Princes was very lax at this period. It was scarcely less so, indeed, at the court of King Henry II; but the harems of the former must have rivalled those of the Eastern Monarchs. And it is observable that in Wales it was by no means uncommon in those times for the illegitimate sons, when eminent, to share the paternal inheritance with those that were born in wedlock.

We have seen that the charter of Res to the abbey of Ystrad Flur was witnessed by three of his legitimate sons. The pedigree gives also another son Cadogan of whom I find no mention elsewhere. If there were such a person he was probably dead before the year 1184, the date of the charter above mentioned. Of Griffith, the eldest son, we shall speak hereafter as Lord of South Wales. Res, also, and his posterity will be spoken of in the subsequent

¹ and ² Brut-y-Tywysogion; according to Giraldus (Itin. Kamb. p. 14) "*Æneas Æneæ Claudii filius, Elvenicæ Princeps*," married a daughter of the Lord Res ap Griffith. If this be so the father and son must have married two sisters; but Giraldus may possibly have confounded the father with the son. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁴ Fenton's Pembrokeshire, p. 523. ⁵ Burke's Dic. of Lan. Gentry sup., p. 112. ⁶ Meyrick's Hist. Cardigan, p. 149. ⁷ Clark's Glamorgan Pedigrees, under Lewis of Van.

history. This Res Vychan (otherwise called Res Grig) became a person of consequence; and his descendants, by dint of their activity and time serving policy, assumed, for a while, the chief place among the Princes of the house of Dynevor.

Meredith Gethin the youngest son of Res, was in rebellion against his father in 1195. He became Lord of Llandovery and the Cantrev Bychan, in the land of Carmarthen, after the death of his father. In conjunction with his brother Res, he took possession of the castle of Dynevor in the year 1198, at which time their brother Griffith was in the hands of the English. Meredith was slain at Carnwyllaon in the year 1201, when his brother Griffith took possession of the castle of Llandovery and the Cantrev in which it was situated.

This Meredith is erroneously said, by the heralds, to have married the daughter and heiress of Howel ap Jerwerth, Lord of Caerleon upon Usk, and to have had by her a son Griffith hir, Lord of Caerleon, from whom the present Lord Tredegar derives his descent.¹

It is certain, however, from the several inquisitions taken after the deaths of the Lords of Caerleon, that this descent is wrongly given.² From these inquests it appears that Howel ap Jerwerth was succeeded by his son Morgan, who was Lord of Caerleon in 1236. Gwervil or Wirvil, the daughter and heiress of Morgan, was

¹ The following is the descent of Griffith ap Meredith given in the Iolo MS. "Gruffydd ap Meredydd Gethin ap yr Arglwydd Rhys was Lord of Caerlleon upon Usk, and of the territory of Meredydd; and he built the castle of Machen, in Caerlleon; and he was Lord of Llandovery and Talley, and he built the castle of Llandovery; and in that castle he died on St. Mary's Eve in August [Aug. 14], and was buried at Strata Florida. And the mother of Gruffydd ap Meredydd Gethin, was Gwenllïan Verch Sir Jorwerth ap Owen Wan, Lord of Caerlleon upon Usk. Meredydd ap Gruffydd ap Meredydd Gethin, Lord of the possessions of Meredydd and Caerlleon upon Usk, built the castle of Newport upon Usk. The mother of that Meredydd was from Llanaeron. And Sir Morgan ap Meredydd was his son by the daughter of Cadwgan ap Madoc, Lord of Radnor, by the daughter of Philip ap Meyric ap Gwas Teilo, of Gwent. The wife of Sir Morgan ap Meredydd was Grissel Verch David ap Meyric, of Gwent, and of that Grissel this Sir Morgan had a daughter called Angharad Verch Morgan; to whom the following Englyn was composed;

Prosperity to the beauteous maid of Caerlleon,
Angharad, daughter of Morgan; splendid as the gold;
Of the wealth dispensing hand; best of daughters,
Of the hue of the drifted snow.

And this Angharad was mother of Morgan ap Llewelyn ap Ivor." If I am right in my conjecture the Caerlleon heiress was not the mother, but the wife, of Griffith (ap Meredith Gethin), and not the daughter but the great granddaughter of Jerwerth ap Owen Wan. ² Inq. p.m. 33. Hen. III, No. 46; Inq. p.m. 6. Edw. I, No. 70; Inq. p.m. 5. Edw. III, No. 16. Compare also Arch. Camb. 1st series, Vol. III, p. 331 et seq.

married to a certain Griffith, whose son Meredith ap Griffith was found to be 14 years of age in 1249, and to have the right of inheritance, if he could prove his legitimacy, which he afterwards established and accordingly held the property till the year 1272-3; when he was forcibly dispossessed of it by Gilbert de Clare during the absence of Edward in the Holy Land. Meredith was succeeded by his son Morgan ap Meredith, whom I take to be the Morgan, that was in arms against the King in 1294, in conjunction with Madoc of North Wales, and Maelgon Vychan of West Wales. His daughter and heiress, Angharad Verch Morgan, Lady of St. Clare, was married first to Llewelyn ap Ivor, Lord of Tredegar in Monmouthshire, from which marriage the present Lord Tredegar is descended; and secondly to David ap Llewelyn of Rydodin, Esq. If, therefore, there is any foundation for this traditional descent of the Morgan family from Meredith ap Res, Lord of Llandovery, it is more likely to have been through Griffith who married the heiress of Morgan ap Howel ap Jerwerth, and who may possibly have been the son of Meredith, son of the Lord Res. But I know of no evidence of this. It is recorded in the Welsh Chronicle that Meredith ap Griffith, Lord of Hirvryn, died on the morrow of St. Lucy, the Virgin (December 14, 1270), in the castle of Llandovery, and was buried in the chapter House of the Monks, at Strata Florida. But there must be an error in the date, if this be the same with the Meredith ap Griffith above mentioned, who is stated by an inquisition of 6 Edw. I, to have been dispossessed of his Monmouthshire property in 1272-3.¹

¹ Arch. Camb. 1st series, Vol. III, p. 237.

CHAPTER VI.

After the death of Res ap Griffith, which occurred on April 24, 1197, his eldest legitimate son, Griffith ap Res, proceeded to the King's Court; and having been acknowledged as his lawful heir and done homage to the King, he returned home to take possession of his dominions. In this, however, he was opposed by his brother Maelgon, who had been ejected from his lands by his father. Maelgon formed an alliance with Wenwynwyn, son of Owen Cyveilioc, Prince of Upper Powis, and speedily re-entered Cardigan accompanied by the forces of the latter. With this powerful aid he gained the castle of Aberystwith together with the town, after killing many of the inhabitants and taking several prisoners; and about the month of August he further succeeded in capturing his brother Griffith, whom he gave into the custody of Wenwynwyn. Maelgon now took possession of the land of Cardigan; his brothers Res Grig and Meredith, the younger sons of Res ap Griffith, were about this time released from prison;¹ and Wenwynwyn proceeded against Arustli,² which he conquered, taking captive Llewelyn ap Jerwerth and David ap Owen, Princes of the House of Gwyneth.

In the following year, 1198, the Lord of Powis delivered over Prince Griffith ap Res to the English, in exchange for the castle of Carrec Huva, and Griffith was imprisoned in Corf Castle. At the same time Maelgon completed his conquest of Cardigan by making himself master of the castles of Aberteivi and Ystrad Meuric which had still been held for his brother Griffith.

"That year" says the chronicler "the youngest sons of Lord Res took possession of the castle of Dynevor,"⁴

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*. ² The cantrev of Arustli, which is partly in the present county of Montgomery and partly in that of Radnor, was taken from Owen Cyveilioc, the father of Wenwynwyn, in 1167, by the Lord Res ap Griffith, to whom it was confirmed by King Henry II in 1171. It was thus recovered by the Lords of Powis in 1197; since which time, with slight interruptions, it remained constantly in their possession. ³ *Annales de Wintonia*, p. 68. ⁴ *Brut-y-Tywysogion*.

which, according to Powel, they won from the Normans; so that the latter would seem to have taken advantage of the death of the Lord Res and the difficulties of his successor to make themselves masters of the greater portion of Carmarthenshire.

Wenwynwyn subsequently turned his arms against the English, and gathered a strong body of Welshmen who joined him for the purpose of invading the English territory. With these allied forces he marched into Radnorshire, and proceeded to attack Pain's Castle, a notable stronghold in Elvel, perhaps originally built by Pain Fitz John, a powerful and active minister of Henry I on the Western Marches, and at this time held by the family of De Braose. The castle must have been well defended, for the Welsh army besieged it for nearly three weeks with doubtful success; and "when the English had intelligence of that, they liberated Griffith ap Res [de Braose's son-in-law], whom they had in prison, and collected the strength of England to accompany him, with the intention of pacifying the Welsh. And then the Welsh would not accept peace of the English, but, after obtaining the castle, they threatened to burn the towns, and carry off their spoils; and the English, not brooking that, attacked them, and in the first battle put them to flight, making a vast slaughter of them; and in that year Griffith ap Res, manfully got possession of his share of his territory from Maelgon his brother, excepting two castles, namely Aberteivi and Ystrad Meuric. As to one of them, namely, Aberteivi, Maelgon swore upon several relics, in the presence of monks, after taking hostages for peace from Griffith, that he would deliver up the castle and hostages together to Griffith on a fixed day. And that oath he disregarded, giving up neither the castle nor the hostages."¹ But, says Powel, "as soone as Maelgon got the pledges, he fortified the castell, and manned it to his owne use, and sent the pledges to Gwenwynwyn there to be kept in prison. But shortlie after, by God's helpe, they brake the prison and escaped home."²

In the following year, 1199, Maelgon got possession of the castle of Dynherth, which Griffith had built or restored;

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Powel's Hist. Wal.

and of the men he found there, he slew some, and imprisoned others. On the other hand Griffith possessed himself, by stratagem, of the castle of Cilgerran, in Pembrokeshire.¹ It was at this period that John succeeded to the English crown; and Maelgon took advantage of this opportunity to pay his court to the King, and thus obtain his powerful assistance against his brother. In order to purchase this he made over the castle of Aberteivi, and the adjacent commot of Iscoed Bisberwern or Isherwen, which he sold to the King for 200 marks, because he felt himself unable to hold them against his brother Griffith.² For this surrender the King, by his charter bearing date at Poitiers on the 3rd of December in the first year of his reign (1199), concedes to his beloved and faithful Maelgun, son of Res, for his homage and faithful service, the four cantreds which are called Kaerdigan, together with Kilgerran and Emelin, as well those of them which he has already acquired as those which are yet to be acquired from the King's enemies; so that Mailgun should serve him faithfully and remain faithful to him against all men. And Mailgun for himself and his heirs gives up and quit claims to the King and his heirs for ever the castle of Kaerdigan with a certain commot adjacent to the said castle.³

A few months later Maelgon obtained a confirmation of the King's grant, whereby the latter concedes to him the four cantreds of Kardigan, excepting the castle of Kardigan and the commot called Bisbirwern adjacent to the said castle, which the aforesaid Maelgon has given up to the King. This charter, which is dated from Worcester on the 11th of April in the 1st of King John (1200), is witnessed by Geoffry fitz Peter, Earl of Essex, William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, William Earl of Surrey, and others.⁴

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² This perfidious betrayal of his country's cause brought upon Maelgon the malediction of the clergy and people of all Wales (*Annales Cambrie*). ³ Rot. Chart. a^o. 1. Joh. memb. 2. ⁴ Rot. Chart. a^o. 1. Joh. memb. 15. Some doubt seems to have existed as to which of these charters was first issued. King Richard died on Tuesday, April 6, 1199: and at first sight it might be thought that this charter, which is dated at Worcester on April 11, in the first year of his reign had been issued immediately after the news of Richard's death had been received in England. It would seem to have been so understood by Maelgon, the son of this Maelgon, from the order in which he produced the two charters in a trial at Westminster in the 25th of Henry III. But I have followed the Editor of the Record Edition of the Charter Rolls, and also Sir Harris Nicolas, who shows, in his "Chronology of History," that the first regnal year of King John commenced on May 27, 1199. Moreover the Prince was apparently in Normandy at the time of his brother's death. Mr. Eyton supports this

It is probable that Maelgon's charter would have availed him little at the time. The King's writs would have had no force in a country where his rule was not acknowledged; and, during Griffith's lifetime, it does not appear that Maelgon ever got possession of these his brother's territories which had been so liberally bestowed upon him by the English monarch; but it served as a pretext for future interference on the part of the English crown, and rendered it easier for the King to deprive the sons of Griffith of their inheritance, during the family disputes which followed upon the death of their father. In the meantime the King retained the important fortress of Cardigan which has been described as the key and lock of all Wales.

In October of the same year, 1200, Griffith is himself, apparently, at peace with the King, from whom he receives a summons and a safe-conduct to come to the King's court, bearing date from Chelewerth (Chelsworth) on the 22nd of October; and the King issues his letters patent to the Sheriff of Pembroke, and his barons, knights, &c., of Ros and Pembroke, apprizing them of the issue of the above safe-conduct, and charging them, in the meanwhile, to levy no forfeit on him or his lands.¹

Whether this summons was obeyed or not I do not find. I imagine that Griffith was at this time in possession of the whole of Cardigan, except the castle of Cardigan with its adjacent commot of Bisberwern (which would have included but a small portion of the commot of Iscoed). And perhaps we may also except the castles of Dynernth and Ystrad Meuric, which may possibly have remained in the hands of Maelgon with their adjacent lordships.

It would seem, from the King's letter having been addressed to the Sheriff of Pembroke, and the Barons, Knights and others of Ros and Pembroke, that Griffith also held lands in those parts. These lands will have involved the castle of Cilgerran and the adjoining

reading, and says that April 11 *anno regni Regis Johannis primo* is certainly April 11, 1200. It is a good illustration of the mistakes likely to arise from King John's dating his diplomas abnormally. It is well known that he dated them not, like other Kings, from the date of his predecessor's death but from the day of his own coronation, he not being successor to the crown *de jure* but only *de facto*. Moreover he was accustomed to date from a moveable feast, so that in some of his regnal years a certain number of days come twice over, and in others certain days of the ordinary year do not occur at all.

¹ Rot. Chart. Pat. no. 2. Joh. memb. 28 in dorso.

lordship of Emlyn, which Griffith had recently taken from Maelgon. It is possible that he may have also held the commot or lordship of Trefgarn in the cantrev of Rhos, which was subsequently held by his descendants under the Earls of Pembroke; but with respect to this records are deficient.

We have no mention, at this period, of Ystrad Tywy, and I am unable to discover whether Griffith retained any portion of his father's dominions in those parts. We shall see that he subsequently took possession of the castle of Llandovery and the cantrev Bychan upon the death of his younger brother Meredith; which had probably been recovered from the Normans, in 1198, at the same time with the castle of Dynevor and the cantrev Mawr; and I assume that the latter had fallen to the share of his other brother Res Grig. The remainder of Carmarthen was probably in the hands of the English at this time; as also by far the greater portion of Pembroke or West Wales.

In the year 1201 "on the eve of Whit-Sunday (May 12), the monks of Strata Florida came to the new church; which had been erected of splendid workmanship. A little while afterwards, about the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul,"¹ (or more correctly on July 2, being St. Swithun's Day, in the year 1201) Meredith ap Res, the younger brother of Griffith, was slain by the Englishmen of Kidwelly at Carnwyllaon, and Griffith took possession of his castle at Llandovery and the cantrev Bychan (or little cantrev), in which it was situated. And within a month of this time, namely, "on the feast of St. James the Apostlè (July 25, 1201) Griffith ap Res (himself also) died at Strata Florida, after having taken upon him the religious habit; and there he was buried"² with great solemnity.³ "This Gruffyth," says Powel, "was a wise and discreet gentleman, and one that was like to bring all South Wales to good order and obedience, who in all things folowed his father's steppes, whom as he succeeded in government so he did in all martiall prowes and nobilitie of mind; but cruell fortune, which frowned

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. The author of the *Annales Cambrie* records that he was killed by the Normans of Kidwelly, on St. Swithin's day (probably July 2, the feast of the deposition of Bishop Swithin), and that his body was brought to Kidwelly and there buried near the church of St. Mary. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ Powel's Hist.

upon that countrie, suffered him not long to enjoy his land." He married Maud or Mallt, daughter of William de Braose, Lord of Brecknock, by whom he had two sons Res and Owen who ought to have succeeded to their father's dominions. But Res Grig, the brother of Griffith, appropriated to himself the cantrev Bychan with the town of Llandovery; and Maelgon took possession of the castle of Cilgerran.¹ I presume that Maelgon also re-entered upon the land of Cardigan and withheld it from his brother's children.

About this time, namely, in the August of that year or soon afterwards, William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke had a grant, from the crown, of 300 marks for the keeping of Cardigan Castle.²

At this time Llewelyn ap Jerwerth ap Owen Gwyneth was upon the throne of North Wales, an able and active prince who assumed the sovereignty of all Wales and claimed the allegiance of all its princes and nobles as a right accorded to his family by the ordinance of Roderic and the laws of Howel Dha "notwithstanding that of late years by the negligence of his predecessors they had not used their accustomed dutie; but some held of the King of England, other ruled as supreme powers within their owne countries. Therefore he called a parliament of all the lords in Wales, which for the most part appeared before him, and swore to be his liegemen."³

Wenwynwyn, Prince of Powis, at first a dissentient, was subsequently won over to the Prince, and Llewelyn appears to have succeeded at this juncture in uniting the interests of the whole principality against the English.

At this period we are informed that the family of the young Lord Res ap Griffith, the rightful Prince of South Wales, obtained the castle of Llandovery, about the feast of St. Michael (September 29), 1202;⁴ which had been withheld from him by his uncle Res Grig. In the following year, 1203, "the foresaid Rees ap Gruffyth ap Rees," says Powel, "got the castell of Llangadoc and fortified it to his own use;"⁵ but shortly after, Maelgon

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*. ² Earls and castle of Pembroke, by G. T. Clark. ³ Powel's Hist. ⁴ *Brut-y-Tywysogion*. ⁵ In the *Brut-y-Tywysogion* it is the castle of Llanegwad which was taken by the young lord Res ap Griffith in that year: but, from what follows, the history seems to point to Llangadoc; I have therefore, in this instance, given preference to Powel's version.

and his former ally Wenwynwyn, by devices, got possession of the castles of Llandovery and Llangadoc. Maelgon also completed the castle of Dynernth (in Cardiganshire).¹

In the year 1204 "Howel Sais ap Res was stabbed, at Cemaes, through treachery, by the men of Maelgon his brother, of which stab he died, and was buried at Ystrad Flur, in the same manner as his brother Griffith, after having taken upon him the habit of religion."² That year Maelgon ap Res lost the keys of all his dominion, to wit Llandovery and Dynevor; for the sons of his brother Griffith manfully won them from him."³ The castle of Cilgerran was also taken from him in the same year, by William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, who suffered the garrison to retire unarmed.⁴ And not long afterwards the unscrupulous Maelgon hired an Irishman to kill Cedivor ap Griffith, a respected chieftain of high lineage, whose four sons he likewise caused to be put to death; for what reason is not stated.⁵

About this time, namely in 1205, Res Grig, with English assistance, set fire to the castle of Luchewein (Llychwein) which belonged to the sons of Griffith and killed all that were found therein.⁶

In the year 1206, which was remarkable for a great abundance of fish at Aberystwith, Maelgon built the castle of Abereinion.

In the year 1207 Wenwynwyn, having come to speak with the King at Shrewsbury, was unjustly detained as a prisoner there, and Llewelyn appropriated his territories to his own use. "And when Maelgon ap Res became acquainted therewith, from fear of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, he razed the castle of Ystrad Meuric to the ground, and burned Dynernth and Aberystwyth. But Llewelyn did not desist from his purpose; for he came to Aberystwyth and repaired it, and took the cantrev of Penwedic to himself, giving the other portion of Cardigan above Aeron to his nephews the sons of Griffith ap Res:"⁷ that is to say, he made over to young Res and Owen the cantrev Canol, containing the commots of Anhunog, Mevenyth, and Pennarth; and retained in his own hands the

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² According to other accounts Howel Sais died in 1199 (see note to page 52). ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁴ Annales Cambriæ. ⁵ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁶ Annales Cambriæ. ⁷ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

northern cantrev of Penwedic, containing the commots of Geneurglyn, Perveth, and Crewthyn; which latter appear to have also been subsequently relinquished to the sons of Griffith; so that the whole of Cardigan Uch Ayeron (ultra Ayeron, or Upper Cardigan) thus fell into their hands, while Cardigan Is Ayeron or the two Southern cantrevs, that of Castell, containing the commots of Mabwynneon and Caerwedros, and cantrev Syrwen, containing the commots of Gwynnionith and Iscoed Ucherwern, would have yet remained to Maelgon.

That same year Res Grig took possession of the castle of Llangadoc, without regarding the agreement which he had made with his nephews when they delivered to him the castle of Dynevor.¹

In the following year, 1208, Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith, once more attacked the castle of Llangadoc, which they burned, having slain some of the garrison and taken others prisoners;² while their own castle of Llychewein appears to have received, for the second time, a similar treatment at the hands of their uncle Res Grig.³

On January 21, 1209, the King directed a levy against the Welsh, William Earl of Salisbury being the Warden of the Marches, and William de Londres keeper of Carmarthen castle for the King;⁴ and in the Waverley Annals it is recorded that the King himself entered Wales with a large army to fight against two of the Welsh Princes who opposed him, which Princes are stated, by the Editor of the Record Edition of that work, to be Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith.⁵

In the following year, namely in June, 1210, King John proceeded to Ireland, from whence he returned, after a successful expedition in the August of the same year.

After the King's return from Ireland Res Grig made his peace with the King; by whose assistance he obtained possession of the castle of Llandovery; "for the garrison, after despairing in every way,

¹ and ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ *Annales Cambriæ*. I am unable to identify this castle of Llychewein (or Luchewein as it is called by the Annalist from whom we quote) unless it be the same with Laugharne or Talacharn in cantrev Mawr, or Llychwr in Gower (see page 62). It is only mentioned twice in the *Annales Cambriæ* and not at all by the other chroniclers. ⁴ Clark's Earls and castle of Pembroke. ⁵ Post ejectionem Willelmi de Breose cum uxore sua a regno Angliæ rex cum exercitu magno intravit Walliam ad expugnandos reges duos qui sibi invicem adversabantur (*Annals of Waverley*).

surrendered the castle, with sixteen horses in it, on the feast day of St. Mary in September (September 8), under an agreement that the garrison should have their bodies safe, with everything belonging to them. That year about the feast of St. Andrew (November 30) Wenwynwyn repossessed himself of his dominion by the assistance of King John."¹ Maelgon also, when he heard of this, repaired to the King's court, and became the King's man; after which he collected a great army of English and Welsh, with whom he marched towards the cantrev Penwedic, and, contrary to the oath and engagement into which he had entered with his nephews, he began to spoil their country, and came as far as Cilcennyn, where he encamped for the night. Whereupon Res and Owen the sons of Griffith collected a body of three hundred chosen men, who attacked the army of Maelgon by night, and killing many, captured others, and put the remainder to flight. "In that battle, Cynan ap Howel, Maelgon's nephew, and Griffith ap Cynan, Maelgon's chief counsellor, were taken prisoners; and Eineon ap Caradoc and a great number of others were slain, and Maelgon disgracefully fled, escaping on foot. That year, on the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr (December 29, 1210), Mahalt de Braose, the mother of the sons of Griffith ap Res, died at Llanbadarn Vawr, after receiving the holy communion, and confession and penance, and the habit of religion, and was buried with her husband at Strata Florida."²

1 and 2 Brut-y-Tywysogion. Mahalt de Braose was the daughter of William de Braose by his wife Maud de St. Valeri, a high spirited woman, who, as "Maud Walbee," is still the reputed heroine of several Brecknockshire romances, and who, in refusing to give up her sons as hostages to King John, was bold enough to add a significant hint about Prince Arthur. She shared the reverses of her husband William de Braose who had fallen under the King's displeasure, and, with her eldest son William, was taken captive by the King in Ireland in the year 1210. The King sent them to Windsor where they are said to have been starved to death soon after. William de Braose himself died in 1211, an exile in France, and was honourably buried by Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was then also in exile (*Annales de Margan*). It is not easy to follow the subsequent fortunes of the family. By his wife Maud de St. Valeri this William de Braose seems to have had four sons, namely, William, who died in the King's prison as above stated; Giles, consecrated Bishop of Hereford Sept. 24, 1200, who recovered most of the Welsh estates of his family during the war, in 1215; Reginald, who succeeded to the acquisitions of his brother Giles; and John, of Knyll, the ancestor of a family who assumed the local name of Knyll; also four daughters, namely, Joane, wife of Richard, Lord Percy; Loretta, wife of Robert fitz Parnell, Earl of Leicester; Margaret, wife of Walter de Laey; and Mahalt or Maud, wife of Griffith ap Res, Prince of South Wales. William, the elder son, left issue a son John, who escaped from a series of guardians in 2 Hen. III (1217-18). Within the next ten years this John levied a fine with his uncle Reginald (whom we may suppose to have

During this period Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, had been frequently treating for peace with the King, from whom he received a pardon, in December 1208, for the depredations he had committed upon the territories of Wenwynwyn while under his (Llewelyn's) protection; which pardon appears to have been renewed in the following year, when the Welsh Prince did homage, either in person or by proxy, to the King at Woodstock.¹ But these nominal renewals of peace were of short duration. The year 1210 was marked by the inroads of the Earl of Chester into North Wales on the one side, and on the other by the retaliations of Llewelyn who laid waste the English possessions.

Incensed at these frequent breaches of fidelity on the part of one who had repeatedly acknowledged himself his vassal, King John assembled a large army on the borders of Wales, in the year 1211, with which he threatened to crush the Welsh Prince and reduce him to complete obedience. To this army he summoned Maelgon and Res Grig, together with Wenwynwyn, of Upper Powis, Madoc ap Griffith Maelor of Lower Powis, Howel ap Griffith ap Cynan ap Owen Gwyneth, and such of the Welsh Barons as held their lands of the English King.

Llewelyn, unable to oppose so large a force, which was composed not only of the flower of the English nobility but likewise of many of his own countrymen, commanded the inhabitants of the inland country (which is now part of Denbigh and Flint shires) to retreat with their cattle to the heights of Snowdon; and then, assuming the offensive, he so harassed the English troops that the expedition signally failed; and John was obliged to retire to England with considerable loss. This was in the spring

been the Bishop's Devisee) dividing the Braose estates. Hence the two houses afterwards distinguished as Braose of Gower and Braose of Bergavenny. This John de Braose married Margaret daughter of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, Prince of North Wales, by which Margaret (who was afterwards married to Walter de Clifford) he had a son William, whose son, also called William, left two daughters and coheirs, between whose descendants the Barony of Braose of Gower is now in abeyance. Reginald de Braose, the Bishop's brother, married Gracia, daughter of William Briwere, by whom he had a son William, whose five daughters, by Eve Mareschal, sister of the last Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, became coheirs of the Barony of Braose of Bergavenny and a fifth part of the Barony of Briwere, as also coparceners of the vast estates of the Earls of Pembroke. The writer of the *Dunstable Annals* says that Reginald de Braose succeeded to the inheritance of his brother Giles the Bishop by the help of Llewelyn, whose daughter he had married. If this be so she must have been a first wife who died without issue.

¹ Warrington's *Hist. Wal.*, Vol. II, p. 20.

of the year 1211. A second expedition, accompanied by the same Welsh lords, in the autumn of the same year, produced a different result; and Llewelyn was obliged to sue for peace, which was granted to him on the condition of his giving forty horses and twenty thousand head of cattle towards defraying the expenses of the war. He likewise ceded to the King and his heirs for ever the inland parts of his dominions, and gave twenty-eight hostages for the observance of the treaty. "And thereupon all the Welsh Princes, except Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith ap Res, made their peace with the King; and the King returned victoriously and with great joy to England. And then the King commanded those princes to take with them all the troops of Morganwg and Dyvet, with Res Grig and Maelgon and their forces, and to go against the sons of Griffith ap Res, and compel them to surrender themselves into his hands, or to retire into banishment out of all the Kingdom."¹ Moreover Fulke de Breant, Lieutenant and Warden of the Marches, by the King's command, united the forces at his disposal with those of Maelgon and Res Grig; who thus repaired to Penwedic together. "And since Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith could not withstand a power of that magnitude, and there was not a place for them in Wales to repair to, they sent messengers to Fulke to bring about a peace. And they made peace with him; and they consented that the King should have the territory between the Dyvi and Aeron; and Fulke built a castle for the King at Aberystwyth. And then Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith, went, under the safe-conduct of Fulke, to the court of the King; and the King received them as friends. And whilst they were repairing to the King's court, Maelgon ap Res and his brother Res Grig, repented of their terms with the King, and made an attack upon the new castle at Aberystwyth and demolished it."² It would seem that two of Maelgon's sons, who were then hostages in the hands of the English, were so severely punished for their father's offence that they died of the injuries they received. The two sons of Cadwallon ap Ivor were also very roughly handled at the same time;

¹ and ² Brut-y-Tywyſogion.

and the Welshmen, fired with indignation at this savage treatment of the hostages, retaliated by committing much slaughter and incendiarism.¹ "When Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith ap Res, returned from the King's court after making their peace with him, they entered Is Aeron, the territory of Maelgon, and killed and burned and ravaged in the district."² The defection of his uncles from their English allegiance secured to young Res and his brother the favour and support of the King, who, on May 26, 1212, granted to "*Reso fil. Griffin*" the whole land of the honor of Cardigan which "*Maelgon fil. Resi*" had held, with the exception of *two* commots which the King reserved to his own use. And he issued his letters patent to the men of Cardigan commanding them to return to the fealty and service of the King and to that of Res, whose retinue they were to form, and forbidding them for the future to return to the service of Maelgon.³ This royal mandate would probably have had little effect upon the men of Cardigan, for the star of Llewelyn was now once more in the ascendant. And in the same year Fulke received orders to assist Res ap Griffin and Owen his brother from the revenues of the crown by assigning them for a certain time such a sum as should be suitable for their maintenance in the King's service.⁴ The gain of the King's support entailed upon Res the loss of that of the Prince of North Wales, his former protector. Maelgon now swore fealty to Llewelyn and joined him in his attack on the English territories in North Wales, and Llewelyn would, doubtless, have favoured the pretensions of his new vassal to the land of Cardigan. When young Res found himself excluded from all his lands, "he sent messengers to the King to

¹ Annales de Margan. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ Rot. Lit. Pat. a^o. 14 Joh. memb. 5. It is observable that in each fresh grant the King retains to his own use a further portion of the inheritance of the Princes of South Wales. Thus in the first year of his reign, 1199, he grants to Maelgon the whole land of Cardigan, which he is to acquire for himself, together with Cilgerran and Emlyn in Pembrokeshire, reserving to himself, however, the castle of Cardigan and the adjacent commot of Bisberwern, which Maelgon surrenders as the price of the King's support. On the present occasion King John grants the honor of Cardigan to young Res retaining *two* commots to his own use. And we shall see how the same system of gradual encroachment was continued by the succeeding Kings of England until the whole dominion was confiscated. I suppose this second commot to have been the immediate lordship attached to the Royal castle of Aberystwith. The castle of Aberystwith and the town of Llanbadarn Vawr, with a small portion of adjacent land, still form a separate manor which is now (or was lately) the property of the Duke of Leeds. ⁴ Rot. Lit. Claus. a^o. 14 Joh. memb. 5.

beseech him that, through his power, he would cause him to have a share of his father's inheritance. And thereupon the King sent to the Seneschal of Hereford, and to Fulke [de Breant], Seneschal of Cardiff, commanding them to compel Res Grig to deliver up the castle of Llandovery and the district to the sons of Griffith ap Res, or to retire from the borders of the country into exile. Res Grig, being cited in due form to respond to the King's commands, returned answer that he would not divide a single acre with young Res. Thereupon young Res became enraged, and collected a great force out of Brecknock, and came in a hostile manner to Ystrad Tywi, and encamped in the place called Trallwng Elgan on the Thursday after the octave of St. Hilary [January 25, 1213]. And the following morning, being Friday, his brother Owen came to him, and Fulke, the Seneschal of Cardiff, with their forces. The following day they entered the territory of Res Grig, arranged their troops, and placed young Res with his force in the van, and Fulke with his force in the centre, and Owen ap Griffith with his force in the rear. And it was not long before Res Grig met them; and in the attack with the first division, Res Grig and his men were overpowered, and he retreated and fled, after many of his men had been killed, and others taken. And then young Res went, with the intention of attacking the castle of Dynevor; however Res Grig was before him, and strengthened his castle with men and arms, and, after burning Llandeilo, retired thence. Nevertheless young Res invested the castle; and the following day he planted engines and devices for attacking it, and placed ladders against the walls, for men to climb over the same, and thus did he possess himself of the castle altogether, save one tower; and in that the garrison secured themselves, fighting and defending it with missiles and other engines. And outside were the archers and cross-bowmen, and miners, and horsemen, fighting against them. And thus they were compelled, before the afternoon, to capitulate; "and they delivered three hostages, and covenanted to give up the tower unless they should receive support by the evening of the next day, under an agreement to have their clothes and their arms, with the safety of their limbs; and

thus it was concluded. And after young Res had got the castle, and subdued the land of cantrev Mawr, Res Grig, with his wife, his children, and family, retired to his brother Maelgon, having strengthened the castle of Llandovery with men and arms, and food and engines, and other necessities. And a second time young Res repaired to Brecknock; and there he collected a great force of Welsh and Normans, and proceeded to Llandovery; and before they had pitched their tents, the garrison gave up the castle, on condition of safety of life and limb."¹ In this year the Earl of Pembroke was made Governor of the castles of Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Gower;² and at the close of the same year, or the beginning of the year 1214, "after Res Grig had withdrawn himself from the Welsh and sought a second time to make peace with them, as it is said, he was siezed at Carmarthen, and put in the King's prison."³

In April 1214, the Lord Bishop of Winchester has orders to deliver up to Res ap Griffin, for his support in the King's service, the land of Maelgon ap Res which Falkes de Breaute had had in his keeping;⁴ but it is doubtful whether Res was put into possession of it by any mandate of the King, whose power in Wales was gradually diminishing at this time.

A new era was now commencing for the principality; and Llewelyn seems to have used all his powers of persuasion in drawing together the Welsh Princes into a general confederation. It was no doubt by his instrumentality that the Princes of the House of Dynevor were induced to forget their differences in the common cause of their fatherland. The rebellion of the English Barons opened a way for the Welsh to recover their liberty and independence of which they were not slow to avail themselves; and the Welsh chronicle informs us that "all the good men of England and Wales combined together against the King, so that none of them without the others would enter into peace or agreement or truce with him, until he restored to the churches their laws and privileges, which he and his ancestors had aforetime taken away from them; and until he also restored to the

¹ and ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Dugdale's Baronage. ⁴ Rot. Lit. claus. 15 Joh. 1^a pars. memb. 1.

good men of England and Wales their lands and the castles which he had taken from them at his will without either right or law.”¹

In the year 1215 Llewelyn led an army to Shrewsbury which was delivered to him without any resistance. Giles de Braose, Lord Bishop of Hereford, the son of William de Braose of Brecknock, and uncle to the young Lord Res ap Griffith, recovered the lands of which his father had been deprived by the King, namely the castles of Pencelli and Abergavenny, and castell Gwyn, and the isle of Cynwraid; as also Aberhodni, and Maesyfaedd, and Gelli, and Blaenllyvni, and the castle of Buellt; and this without any opposition. Pain's castle, and the castle of Colwyn, and the cantrev of Elvel attached to them, he relinquished to Walter son of Eineon Clyd who had subdued them. While these events were taking place in Brecknock Maelgon became reconciled to his nephews Res and Owen, and on the eve of the Ascension (May 27) they jointly proceeded with an army to Dyvet, where they subjugated all the Welshmen of that country, some of whom they brought away with them beyond the river Teify and some they left behind in Emlyn and Elfed. In this expedition they gained possession of all Dyvet, excepting Cemaes, which they devastated, and burned the castles of Arberth and Maenclochog. After this, Maelgon and Owen ap Griffith went to Llewelyn ap Jerwerth in Gwyneth; and young Res, by the help of his uncle Maelgon, collected a considerable army, with which he conquered Kidwelly and Carnwallyon, and destroyed the castle at the latter place by fire; in revenge of which the bailiffs and citizens of Carmarthen set fire to his town. From Carnwallyon he proceeded to Gower, and having first reduced the castle of Llychwr, he attacked the castle of Hugh Miles at Talebont (in Pembrokeshire), where the garrison attempted to hold it against him; but Res obtained it by force, passing the castle and garrison through fire and sword. The following day he marched towards the castle of Ystum Llwynarth in Senghenyth, and from fear of him the garrison burned the town. But without being diverted from his purpose he proceeded to

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

the castle and encamped about it that night; and the next day he gained possession of it and destroyed it. In the course of a three days' campaign he thus reduced all the castles of Gower, and returned victoriously home. Res Grig was now liberated from the King's prison, after having given his son and two other hostages in his stead.¹ Giles de Braose, the Bishop of Hereford, at this time also made his peace with the King, by the Pope's commandment, and died at Gloucester on his return homeward (Nov. 13). His acquisitions seem to have gone to his brother Reginald, which Reginald is said by some to have married a daughter of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, but she was certainly not the mother of his children.² Shortly afterwards Llewelyn and the other Welsh Princes collected a great army at Carmarthen on the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin (Dec. 8); and before five days were over they took the castle and razed it to the ground, the English garrison having fled in alarm without striking a blow in its defence, and afterwards demolished the castles of Llanstephan, Talacharn, and St. Clare. From thence, on the eve of the feast of St. Thomas (December 20), they proceeded to Cardigan; and winning the new castle in Emlyn the men of Cemaes did homage to Llewelyn, and the castle of Trevdraeth (or Newport) was delivered up to him, and by general consent was demolished. And when the garrison of Aberystwith saw that they could not maintain the castle, they delivered it up to Llewelyn on the feast of St. Stephen (Dec. 26); and the following day, the feast of St. John the Apostle (Dec. 27), the castle of Cilgerran was delivered to him. After which Llewelyn and all the Welsh Princes that were with him returned to their countries happy and joyful with victory. The Princes who took part in this expedition were Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, Prince of Gwyneth, and Howel ap Griffith ap Cynan, and Llewelyn ap Meredith ap Cynan, from Gwyneth; Wenwynwyn ap Owen Cyveilioc, Meredith ap Robert of Kedewen, the family of Madoc ap

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion; Annales Cambriæ. The Earl of Pembroke received orders, on June 13, to receive certain hostages, and then to liberate Res Boscanus (Res Vychan?). Clark's Earls of Pembroke. By the act of Magna Charta (17 Joh. June 15, 1215) it was stipulated that the Welsh hostages were to be set at liberty, and all lands, &c., illegally seized from the Welsh were to be restored (Rymer's Fædera).

² Brut-y-Tywysogion; Annales de Dunstaplia. See page 82 note

Griffith Maelor (of Bromfield), and the two sons of Madoc ap Cadwallon, from Powis; and out of South Wales Maelgon ap Res, Res Grig, and Res ivanc and his brother Owen, the two sons of Griffith ap Res. In the course of this year they subjugated the whole of the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen (including the commots of Kidwelly and Carnwyllion and the district of Gower which had long been in the hands of the English) with the upper portion of Pembroke and parts also of Brecknock and Radnor.

In the following year, 1216, there was a partition of land between Maelgon ap Res, and his brother Res Grig, and Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith ap Res, at Aberdovey, in the presence of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth and the other Welsh Princes. To Maelgon were allotted three cantreys of Dyvet Gwarthav, namely, Penllwynog (or Pebidioc), Cemaes, and Emlyn, with the castle of Cilgerran; likewise of Ystrad Tywi, the castle of Llandovery, with three commots, namely, Hirvryn, Mallaen, and Maenor Bydvai (or Myddvai); and of Cardigan, the two commots of Gwynnionith and Mabwynion.

To Res ivanc and his brother Owen were allotted the castle of Aberteivi (or Cardigan), and the castle of Nant yr Arian (or Silverdale) and three cantreys of Cardigan. And to Res Grig were allotted the whole of cantrev Mawr, except Mallaen, and the cantrev Bychan, except Hirvryn and Bydvai; and to him also came Kidwelly and Carnwyllion.¹

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion; compared with Powell's History (folio ed. of 1811); and Jones' History of Wales. Nantyrarian is situate in the parish of Llanbadarn Vawr, co. Cardigan (Rees' History of Cwmhir Abbey, p. 32). Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth appears to have acted as something more than Umpire or President on this occasion. The subdivision of the Principalities of South Wales and Powys had greatly reduced the power of their hereditary Princes, and the supremacy of Llewelyn seems to have now been generally acknowledged by them whenever the Welsh were in a position to repudiate the King's authority. The continued encroachments of the English, who were gradually extending their possessions over the Welsh borders, had doubtless done much to efface that spirit of rivalry and jealousy which had previously existed between the people as well as the Princes of North and South Wales, and which is well illustrated by the following story related by Yorke in his "Royal Tribes of Wales."—When David ap Owen Gwyneth, Prince of the North (the immediate predecessor of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth), had honourably received some fugitives from the South, his courtiers insisted that it was too much condescension on his part to receive the subjects of a rival Prince, who would not shew the least respect to any of his. Upon which David swore with a great oath that he would not rest until he should be satisfied

In order to understand this apportionment of territory we must follow the more ancient divisions of Carmarthen instead of those contained in the survey of Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith. According to the latter, which are those usually adopted by the Welsh historians,¹ the country was divided into four cantrevs or hundreds; but according to the more ancient division, which is preserved in the Myfyrian Archæology as well as the other,² it was only divided into three; namely cantrev Mawr, cantrev Bychan, and cantrev Eginiog. That which is called in the later survey the cantrev Ffiniog is here called the cantrev Bychan or small cantrev, while the cantrev Bychan of the later division is here contained in the cantrev Mawr or great cantrev.

The larger cantrev Mawr contained seven commots, namely Mallaen, Caeo, and Maenor Deilo (which formed the cantrev Bychan of the later division) as well as the commots of Cethinioc, Mab Elved, Mab Uchtryd, and Widigada, being the whole country north of the Towy.

The cantrev Bychan contained three commots, Hirvryn, Derfedd (or Pertietth) and Iscennen, (which three commots formed the cantrev Ffiniog of the later division).

The cantrev Eginiog contained three commots, Cydweli

whether the Lord Res of South Wales would not honourably receive some messengers sent by him to his court. It was some time before he could meet with a person who would undertake the trial. But at length Gwgan of Caereinion in Powysland set off on the embassy; and when he reached the court of the Lord Res he found him in a furious temper, beating his servants and hanging his dogs. Gwgan, feeling that this was not a proper time to appear before him, wisely delayed his message until the following day; and then in a long speech, still extant in MS., he let the noble descendant of Res ap Tudor Mawr know that he came from David ap Owen of North Wales, of the stock of the Royal Cynan, to pay his friendly respects to him; and if he was well received he was commissioned to thank the Lord Res; if not he was commissioned to act on the reverse. The Lord of South Wales asked Gwgan in what way his honourable reception could be shewn. Gwgan replied, "By giving me a horse better than my own to carry me home; by giving me five pounds in money and a suit of clothes; by giving my servant who leads my horse by the bridle a suit of clothes and one pound." "Come in," said the Lord Res, "I will give thee the noblest steed in my stud, for the sake of thy Royal Master; and above thy demand I will double the sums of money and treble the suits of apparel." Which promise was performed, and Gwgan returned to his country to the mutual satisfaction of both Princes.

1 Powell's Hist. folio ed. p. 32. Warrington's Hist. of Wales, map in the ed. of 1788, Vol. I. Jones' Hist. Wal., p. 108. 2 Myf. Archæol., Vol. II, p. 606, et. seq., as quoted in the Beauties of England and Wales (p. 261). It is there stated that there are two accounts given of the Divisions of Carmarthenshire, in the time of Llewelyn ap Griffith, the last Prince of Wales; namely that in which it is divided into four cantrevs and that in which it is divided into three, as shewn in my text; see also page 35 note. The writer of the Brut appears to have recognized the later division into four cantrevs, when, under the year 1201, he describes the castle of Llandovery as being in the cantrev Bychan.

(or Kidwelly), Carnwyllion, and Gwyr (or Gower), which last is now in Glamorganshire.

In like manner the land of Cardigan was divided into four cantrevs, namely, Penwedic, Canol, Castell, and Syrwen or Hirwain.

The cantrev Penwedic contained three commots, Geneurglyn, Creuddyn, and Pervedd.

The cantrev Canol contained three commots, Anhunog, Mefenydd, and Penarth.

The cantrev Castell contained two commots, Mabwynion and Caerwedros.

The cantrev Syrwen contained two commots, Gwinionydd and Iscoed.

The land of Dyvet (then called West Wales by the English and now Pembrokeshire) was divided into eight cantrevs, namely, Arberth, Daugleddau, Y Coed, Penfro, Rhos, Pybidioc, Cemaes, and Emlyn.

The cantrev Arberth contained three commots, Penrhyn, Estrolef, and Talacharn.

The cantrev Daugleddau contained three commots, Amgoed, Pennant, and Iselfre.

The cantrev Y Coed contained two commots, Llanhauaden and Castell Gwys (or Wiston).

The cantrev Penfro contained three commots, Coed yr Haf, Maenor Byrr, and Penfro.

The cantrev Rhôs contained three commots, Hwlford (or Haverford West), Castell Gwalchmai, and Y Garn.

The cantrev Pybidioc contained three commots, Mynyw, Pencaer, and Pybidioc.

The cantrev Cemaes contained three commots, Uwch Nefer, Is Nefer, and Trefdraeth.

The cantrev Emlyn contained three commots, Uwch Euch, Is Euch, and Lleffethr.

In this partition of South Wales between the descendants of the Lord Res it will be seen that the largest share fell to Maelgon, who had the three Northern cantrevs of Dyvet, with two commots of Cardigan, and the three (or rather two) commots which formed the Eastern portion

of Carmarthen.¹ The remainder of Carmarthen was made over to Res Grig, with the exception of Gower which was probably never fairly won from the English, though laid waste by hostile incursions of the Welsh. The land of Cardigan was apportioned to Res and Owen, with the exception of the commots of Mabwynion and Gwynnionyth, which intercepted the Southern commot of Iscoed from the remainder of their territory.

I presume that the five remaining cantrevs of Dyvet still remained substantively under the English rule, though liable to frequent attacks and spoliations from the Welsh.

Towards the close of this year, namely, on October 19, 1216, King John died at Newark, while making preparation to oppose Louis of France, who had been invited to come over to England by some of the English Barons.

Henry III, a child of nine years old, was crowned King; upon whose accession many of the Barons returned to their allegiance. And in the year 1217 Reginald de Braose became reconciled to the King, without the knowledge of Llewelyn. "When young Res and Owen, the sons of Griffith ap Res, saw that their uncle was going against the treaty which he had entered into with the good men of England and Wales, they wrested the whole of Buellt² from him except the castles. Then also Llewelyn ap Jerwerth Prince of Gwyneth became angry with Reynold de Bruce (de Braose); and, breaking the treaty, he directed his army towards Brecknock, and commenced by attacking Aberhodni,³ which he intended wholly to destroy. And thereupon the men of the town made peace with Llewelyn through means of young Res, who became an accepted arbitrator between them, by delivering five hostages to Llewelyn of the gentlemen of the town [as a pledge] that they would pay him a hundred

¹ The lordship of Maenor Bydvai, Mydfai, or Mothvey, which was assigned to Maelgon, originally formed a portion of the commot of Mallaen; so that he will have had but two entire commots of Carmarthen. But the term "commot" seems to have been used to describe a separate Manor or Lordship, so that when the original commot was divided we find the term applied to the moieties as well as to the whole; as, for example, in the case of the commot Iscoed Isherwern or Bisberwern, which was that part of the commot Iscoed, in Cardiganshire, which was attached to the castle of Cardigan after it came into the King's hands. ² Buellt Bualt or Builth was the Southern cantrev of the district anciently known as the principality of Fferlys. It lay to the north of the ancient lordship of Brecknock, and now forms a part of that county, though it was formerly reckoned to the territory of Powis Wenwynwyn. ³ Aberhodni was the chief town of the land of Brecknock. It was situated in the commot of Trahaern and cantrev Selyf.

merks, because they were unable to oppose him. And from thence he conducted his army to Gower over the black mountain, where many sumpters were endangered; and then he encamped at Llangiwg. When Reynold de Bruce observed the devastation that Llewelyn was committing in his territory, he took six noble knights with him, and came to give himself up to the disposal of Llewelyn, who gave him the castle of Senghenyth, which Llewelyn had entrusted to the custody of Res Grig.”¹ After remaining there a few days Llewelyn led his army towards Dyvet, against the Flemings; and came as far as Cevn Cynwarchan, where messengers met him from the Flemings entreating for terms of peace. But the Prince was not to be deterred from his purpose. He advanced to Haverford West, and surrounded the town with his troops for the purpose of besieging it. “And thereupon young Res, at the head of a body of the men of the South, of whom he was leader, went through the river Cleddy, and approached the town, having that retinue with him, in order to attack the town first. And then Jerwerth, Bishop of Menevia, accompanied by many of the religious and clergy, came to the Prince and proposed to him terms of peace. And these were the terms, namely, that they should give the Prince twenty hostages from Rhos and Pembroke, of the noblest; that they would pay him a thousand merks by next Michaelmas; or otherwise they should do homage to him by that time, and should hold under him for ever. And, after that, every one returned to his country. And in that interval pacification was declared between Henry King of England, and Louis, son of the King of France.”²

¹ & ² Brut-y-Tywysogion.

CHAPTER VII.

The ardour had now subsided with which the English nobles had at first engaged in the cause of Prince Louis of France. The great talents of the Protector Earl of Pembroke enabled him to seize the fortunate moment, and succeed in drawing back to their allegiance the revolted Barons. In the treaty of peace which ensued, in the September of 1217, the Welsh and the Scots were alike included, on condition that they should restore all the places which they had seized during the war.¹ Llewelyn came to Hereford on the octaves of St. Martin (Nov. 18), probably for the purpose of negotiating his peace. But the King was unable to meet him, and Hugh Mortimer was sent to escort the Welsh Prince to Northampton, (provided that he came to that city and were absolved from the sentence of excommunication,) where he and those that came with him were to do homage to the King.² It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any regard to this summons; for at this time the Earl of Pembroke fought against Caerleon and took it. "And then Res Grig destroyed the castle of Senghenyth and all the castles of Gower. And he expelled the English population that were in that country entirely, so that they had no hope ever to return back, taking as much property as he chose, and placing Welshmen to dwell in the lands."³

On March 11, 1218, however, Llewelyn attended the King's summons to appear before him at Worcester, where he did homage in the presence of the council and of the Pope's legate who absolved him.⁴ On this occasion he ratified by oath the conditions of the treaty of peace, and promised, as far as lay in his power, to restore to the King the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan with their respective domains, as well as all other lands and castles

¹ & ² Rymer's *Fædera*. ³ *Brut-y-Tywysogion*. ⁴ The King came from Tewkesbury to Worcester on that day, and remained there till the 17th of the same month (MS. Itinerary of Hen. III, at the Salt Library, Stafford).

which had been taken from Henry's vassals in South Wales during the late war. He engaged himself to use every means in his power to induce all the Welsh Barons to do homage to Henry as their liege lord; and further pledged himself to receive none of the King's enemies under his protection, and to revenge all injuries done to the King as though they were done to himself.¹ Llewelyn now received from the legate, in the presence of William Mareschal, the castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen to be held by him during the King's minority as the Royal Bailiff.² "And then young Res himself, and all the Princes, from South Wales, went"³ to the court of the King at Woodstock⁴ to do their homage.

I suppose that most of the lands which had been recovered by the Welsh in the late wars were now given up to the English; so that Kidwelly, Carnwyllion, and Gower would have thus reverted to their Norman lords; and, assuming the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord of Kemeys to have been re-instated in their former possessions, Maelgon will have retained but little of Dyvet,—perhaps only the Lordships of Emlyn and Estrolof (or Oysterlof).

In the following year, namely, on Sunday, April 14, 1219, died William Mareschal (I), the great Earl of Pembroke,⁵ who was succeeded by his son William Mareschal (II). In this year also Res Grig married (Joane), daughter of the Earl of Clare⁶ (that is, Richard de Clare, 4th Earl of Hertford, who was sometimes called Earl of Clare). And John de Braose married Margaret, the daughter of Prince Llewelyn.⁷

The unhappy feuds between the Welshmen and their border neighbours, which had been fomented during the baronial contests, were by no means extinguished by the treaties of peace which ensued. The English and Welsh

¹ Rymer's *Fædera*. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion, and Clark's *Earls and Castle of Pembroke*. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁴ Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. III, part 1, m. 3 (Record Office Calendar). This homage would probably have been received on the 25th or 26th of May, as these are the only days on which we find the King at Woodstock (MS. Itin. Hen. III). ⁵ Clark's *Earls of Pembroke*, p. 42. William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, the guardian of King Henry III and Protector of the Realm during the King's minority, was created Earl Marshall of England in his own right and Earl of Pembroke in consequence of his marriage with Isabel daughter and heiress of Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Leinster. By this lady he had six sons, of whom five in succession became Earls of Pembroke, and five daughters, between whose descendants his great estates were eventually divided. ⁶ & ⁷ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

were continually at variance on the Southern borders, where the chatellany of the castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen would have doubtless been a fruitful source of contention between Llewelyn and the Earls of Pembroke. We may suppose these castles to have been left by the treaty in the hands of Llewelyn as the King's Bailiff. In May, 1220, a truce between Llewelyn and the new Earl, William Mareschal (II), was arranged before the King and his council at Shrewsbury, which was to last until the morrow of St. Michael (Sept. 30);¹ and I presume that this truce would have left them in the same hands. Whether Cardigan Castle had been at this time entrusted by Llewelyn to the custody of Res ap Griffith or not, I cannot tell; but my surmise is that these two castles were shortly afterwards taken from the Welshmen by the English or Flemish settlers; and thus I would account for the attack subsequently made upon the latter by the Welsh Prince. It appears that on the Feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist (August 29, 1220), Llewelyn ap Jerwerth summoned to him most of the Welsh Princes, and "collected a vast army to go against the Flemings of Rhos and Pembroke, because of their breaking the peace and treaty, which the men of England had made between the English and the Welsh, by their committing frequent depredations upon the Welsh and harassing them. On the first day he attacked the castle of Arberth, which the Flemings had built after having been formerly destroyed by the Welsh; and he obtained the castle by force and threw it to the ground, after killing some of the garrison, burning others, and capturing others. And the following day he destroyed the castle of Gwys and burned the town. The third day he came to Haverford, and burned the whole of the town to the castle gate. And then he went round Rhos and Dungleddau in five days, making vast slaughter of the people of the country. And after making a truce with the Flemings until the calends of May he returned back joyful and happy."²

¹ Hist. Shrewsbury. The King remained at Shrewsbury from the 5th till the 8th of May in that year (MS. Itin. Hen. III). ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. The account of Llewelyn's invasion, in 1220, is thus recorded in the Annals of Dunstaple. "In the same year there was a war between Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and William Mareschal, the younger. And when the said Llewelyn had craftily obtained the King's forces from the neighbouring marches under the pretext of punishing other of the King's rebels, he suddenly invaded the Marshall's lands, destroyed three of his castles killing

Llewelyn will at this time have re-occupied the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan (as stated by the Shrewsbury historians¹); and it would seem that he gave over the former to Maelgon, but retained the more important fortress of Cardigan in his own hands. This gave offence to Res ap Griffith, the young Lord of Cardigan, who claimed the said castle as his right, by virtue of the settlement of 1216; and when Llewelyn refused to give it up to him, he broke with the Prince of North Wales and formed an alliance with the Earl of Pembroke. Whereupon "Llewelyn with his army came to Aberystwyth, and obtained possession of the castle with the territory attached to it, and placed it under his own dominion. And then young Res repaired to the court of the King, and complained to him of the insult that Llewelyn had offered him. And the King summoned Llewelyn and the Earls and Barons of the Marches to Shrewsbury, and in that council young Res and Llewelyn ap Jerwerth were reconciled; and Llewelyn relinquished Aberteivi (or Cardigan) in his favour as he had given Carmarthen to Maelgon ap Res."²

I imagine the quarrel between Res and Llewelyn to have taken place in the autumn of 1220, but their reconciliation not till the following year. In the meantime the hostile movements of Llewelyn had called forth a letter from the King, bearing date at Westminster on the 5th of October (1220), in which he reminds him of the truce concluded at Salop between him and William Earl Mareschal (as he is there styled), and complains of his neglect to appear before him at Oxford on the morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula (Aug. 31), as also at London on the morrow of St. Michael (Sept. 30), in obedience to his summons, for the purpose of adjusting the differences between himself and the said Earl; instead of which he had, as the King had been informed, in the meantime invaded the land of the said Earl with a great army and destroyed it with fire and sword, having taken two of his

all that were there, and when he had laid waste the whole province he shut up the cattle and flocks in the houses and then set fire to them all. Moreover he slew a number of armed men who came over from Ireland to the assistance of the Marshall; so that the loss occasioned by this disgraceful raid is said to have exceeded the price of King Richard's ransom. It is said that the quarrel arose from the Marshall's refusal to pay a certain sum which he had promised for the ransom of some captives taken in war" (*Annales de Dunstaplia*, p. 61).

¹ Owen and Blakeway Hist. Shrewsbury, Vol. I, p. 98. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion.

castles and razed them to the ground. He had further put the men of those parts to a tribute (*censoriam*) of £100, having taken security from them that, if it should be required of them, the payment should be made to the King or to Llewelyn within fifteen days of the next coming Feast of All Saints. Moreover he had compelled them to swear that they would never return to the fealty of the said Earl; and, what the King took most amiss, he had pretended that he was acting under the King's authority and that of the legate against the said Earl, who had given them no cause of offence. The King commands Llewelyn to desist from exacting the tribute of £100 which he has required of the men of the said Earl, to restore, as far as possible, whatever he has taken from the Earl's land, and in no way to prevent his rebuilding and repairing his said castles or to hinder his men from returning to their allegiance. Moreover he summons the Welsh Prince to appear before him at Worcester on the octaves of St. Andrew (Dec. 7) to answer for his excesses; and orders him to surrender at once those lands which had been previously occupied by Welshmen, and of which Llewelyn had taken forcible possession, to W[illiam] Bishop of London and Ralph Boteler, to whose custody he (the King) has committed them to hold during his pleasure; and finally the King enjoins him to keep the peace with the Earl and his men and the Magnates of the Marches till the octaves of St. Andrew, taking order to do them no injury; which injunction the King informs him he has likewise laid upon the said Earl and the said Magnates of the Marches.¹ By letter of the same date the King writes to the knights and freeholders of the county of Pembroke, informing them that Llewelyn had not been acting under his sanction or authority in the late invasion, and ordering them to pay fealty to the Earl of Pembroke, as they had done before the said invasion of Llewelyn, notwithstanding the convention they had made with that Prince to place themselves in the King's hands and under the guardianship of Llewelyn. They are further forbidden to answer to the said Llewelyn for the £100 they had bound

¹ Rymer's *Fædera*.

themselves to pay to him; and are ordered to assist their Lord in repairing his castles of Narberth and Wiz, which Llewelyn had destroyed.¹

It does not appear that Llewelyn came to Worcester at the time appointed. He probably retained his hold over Dyvet during the winter; but in 1221 the Welsh Annalist informs us that the Earl of Pembroke returned from Ireland to South Wales, when he took the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and his allies despoiled nearly all the churches of Dyvet.² In the summer of that year the English Monarch was again at Shrewsbury, where he remained from June 27 to July 3.³ It is probable that some general settlement of disputes between the Magnates of Wales and the Marches was there effected before the King and his council, under which these two castles were restored to Llewelyn as Castellan. I further suppose the breach between Res and Llewelyn to have been healed at this time,⁴ and the castle of Cardigan to have then been surrendered to Res.

At the close of the year, namely "about the Feast of St. Nicholas," Dec. 6, 1221, "John de Braose repaired the castles of Abertawy and Senghenyth by the permission and advice of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth,"⁵ his father-in-law; and early in the following year the Welsh appear to have again assumed a threatening attitude towards the English. We find the King at Scenfrith from the 4th to the 8th of March, 1222;⁶ and on April 30 he writes to Llewelyn with respect to the truce which had been made between the said Llewelyn and William Earl Mareschal and Reginald de Braose, and the contentions that had arisen between them; and tells him that it is necessary that the truce should be extended till the Easter of the ensuing year (1223); he enjoins him strictly to observe the said truce according to the form agreed upon at Shrewsbury before the King himself and Pandulph the Lord Bishop elect of Norwich, the legate; and

¹ Rymer's *Fædera*. ² *Annales Cambriæ*. ³ *MS. Itin. Hen. III.* ⁴ Messrs. Owen and Blakeway, the learned Historians of Shrewsbury, indeed, assert that this reconciliation between Llewelyn and Res ap Griffith took place in May, 1220, before the King and his council at Shrewsbury during his visit to that town from May 5 till 8; and their general accuracy is such that I am unwilling to differ from them, but as they give no other authority for their assertion but Rymer, who does not bear them out on this point, I am disposed to follow the order of events as they are given by the early Welsh Historians. ⁵ *Brut-y-Tywysogion*. ⁶ *MS. Itin. Hen. III.*

further informs him that he has sent to him the Abbots of Shrewsbury and Haghmon before whom he is to give security for keeping the peace, in the same manner as the Earl and Reginald de Braose have done before the King, bidding him to fix a day for the meeting. No doubt the truce was prolonged accordingly, though it did not last for a whole year.

During this interval "died Res Ivanc, the son of Griffith ap Res, being a young man famous for his praise and bravery and sense and wisdom, the sole hope of all South Wales, and that after a long and lingering disorder, in the month of August (1222); and was buried at Strata Florida, after taking penance and communion and confession and the habit of religion."¹

The King lost no time in issuing his writ to *Leulinus princeps Norwallie*, commanding him to take into the King's hand all the land which *Resus filius Griffini* deceased held of the King *in capite* and keep it in safe custody until the King should otherwise order concerning it. This writ was issued at Oxford, on August 11, of that year, in the presence of Hubert de Burgh and others.²

The Welsh chronicle informs us that "Owen ap Griffith his only brother obtained part of his territory, and another part Llewelyn ap Jerwerth gave to Maelgon ap Res."³ From the subsequent history I should infer that Maelgon had the Southern portion of Cardigan, including the cantreys of Syrwen and Castell, commonly called Is Aeron (of which he already had two commots), and Owen the Northern portion.

It is most probable that the young Lord Res ap Griffith died without issue. Dugdale, who is followed by Collins asserts, indeed, that Gilbert Talbot, one of the Justices Itinerant for the county of Hereford, married Gwenthlian, daughter of Rhese ap Griffith, Prince of South Wales; but on reference to the document from which he quotes I find that this Gwenthlian was the daughter of Res Vychan, the son of Res Grig, as will be shewn in a subsequent page.⁴

We learn from the Statutes of St. David's that Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, had claimed against Maelgon ap

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Excerpta e Rot. Fin. 6 Hen. III, (1222). ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁴ Plac. de Banco T. Hil. 19 Edw. III, Rot. 132.

Res the land of Llandovery and Kenarth Vawr, for which he impleaded him before Thomas the Dean, Albinus the Chancellor, and Thomas the Treasurer of Hereford, who were delegated by the Pope to adjudicate between them. The litigation was terminated by the following compromise, namely,—Maelgon and Maelgon his son and heir acknowledged the right of the Bishop and his church to the whole land of Llandovery, and the Bishop, with consent of Maelgon the elder, took the homage of Maelgon the younger for the said land, which he was to hold of the church of St. David by the services of providing a safe-conduct to the Bishop, in going and returning, whenever he should come into those parts,—of making his procuration in the castle of Llandovery to the Bishop as Lord of that castle at least once a year, and of sending his men of that place to join the Bishop's army, whenever they should be summoned thereto, like the other men of St. David's. And as to the land of Kenarth Vawr the aforesaid Maelgon Major and Maelgon Junior agreed to restore to the church of St. David, as her rightful possession, the whole land together with the Mill and the Weir and all other their appurtenances; and the Bishop, with consent of Maelgon the elder, conceded to Maelgon the younger, for the term of his life, a moiety of the Mill and Weir together with the service of the sons of Syon and their men of Talebrin, so that after his death the said moieties of the Mill and Weir should revert to the Bishop. With respect to certain other lands which were named in the same compact namely, Maynorteun (Manorteivi?), Llanarthhayron (Llanerchaeron?), Gartheley (Gartheli), Merthirgcionant (Merthyr Cynog?), Penbeyr (Penboyr), Kenart Vechan, Cledey (Clydey), Lansuliet (Llansilian?), Llanechren in Gwenoint, Abergwenn, Trefgaithel, Eglois Gorthir, and the commot of Esterlof, except the lands which the said Bishop held in Esterlof, the said Maelgon and his son acknowledged the right of the Bishop and his church thereto, and upon their surrendering them to the Bishop, Maelgon Junior, with his father's consent, received them from the Bishop to hold for the term of his life, by the service of paying yearly to the Bishop one sparrowhawk in St. David's town of Kenarth Vawr on the Feast of St. Peter ad vincula.

The above composition was ratified by the seal of all parties, in the year 1222, and attested by the Abbots of Alba Landa and Thalelech, J . . . , Prior of Brechon, H . . . , Archdeacon of St. David's, Master N . . . , of the chapel, Master Matthias, Canon of St. David's, Philip de Lannays, A . . . son of Ithayl, Master Thomas Briton, Roger de Burchall, Walter de Brechon, Clerk, Aaron son of Res, Lewelin son of Cradauc son of Eman, Gossalin son of Gugan, Owen son of Eynean, and many others; and confirmed by the Pope's Delegates on the Eve of St. Barnabas (June 10) 1239.¹

The same Bishop Gervase made a similar claim against Res ap Res (i.e. Res Grig) for the whole commot of Llanteilow Mawr, the lands between the river Dineleis—Luswlith and the Brook of Hilyg, the Manor of Lantarach (Llanddarog?), the town of Kelmir, and the lands of Aberwili which Gugan Seys and Kedivor ap Enyr and other nobles unjustly withheld from him. The suit was determined before the same Papal Delegates by the following composition, namely, the said Res Junior and Mareduch his son and heir acknowledge the right of the Bishop and the church of St. David to all the said lands. Res and his sons surrender to the Lord Bishop and his church the lands under Dyneleys as far as the bounds of the commot of Keth-eynach (Cethinioc) so that they should belong to the church of St. David as of full right, with the exception of the lands of Kerrie Gwrgeneu and the land of Owen son of Gadug and the land of the Smiths of the court of Dynevor and the lands of the Canons of Talelech which he, or his, had given to the church of Lanteilaw Mawr or the Lord of Talelech in free and perpetual alms with the good will of the Bishop and the assent of the chapter of St. David's. Moreover the afore-said Res and his sons surrender to the Lord Bishop and his church all the lands of Abergwili, which Kedivor ap Enyr and Gogan Seys and other nobles had unjustly withheld from him, as fully belonging to the church of St. David. And the said Res and his sons will warrant

¹ *Statuta Ecclesie Menevensis*, Harl MSS. 1249, compared with a MS. at Stackpole Court purporting to be an abridgement of the same statutes from a copy in the possession of Nicholas, Lord Bishop of St. David's, a^o 1740, made by E[dward] Y[ardley Archdeacon of Cardigan].

to the Bishop the said lands of Abergwili together with the Mill against the said nobles and all others during the time of the Welsh ascendancy. But the said Res and his sons did homage to the Bishop for the aforesaid lands and swore that they would every-where faithfully maintain the rights of the Bishop and his church therein, and pay for the said lands an annual rent of one Lance on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, further binding themselves to send their men of those tenements to join the Bishop's army at the summons of the said Bishop. The above composition was mutually ratified by the seals of all parties in the year of grace 1222, and witnessed by the Abbots of St. Dogmael's and Talelech, Henry fitz Robert, Walter fitz Bartholomew, Nicholas fitz Meyler, John fitz Asser, William fitz Martin, Nicholas fitz Samuel, canons of St. David's, the Deans of Pebydiauk and Cantre Mawr, G . . . Prior of Talelech, Ph . . . canon of the same House, Gogan the official, and of the laity Owen fitz Kadug, Griffith fitz Elyder, Traharn fitz Hoell, Jor . . fitz Gogan fitz Meilas, Gorgenew clerk to the Lord Res, Master John clerk to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, and many others.¹

These compositions will account for some of the subsequent possessions of the Bishops of St. David's at Abergwili, Llandilo, and elsewhere.

Towards the close of the year 1222 the Earl of Pembroke went over to Ireland; and during his absence the Flemings threw off their allegiance to Llewelyn, and attacked and took the castle of Cardigan. Whereupon Llewelyn raised an army against the Flemings, and, entering Dyvet, spoiled their lands, and took the castles of Cardigan and Kilgerran, where he put the garrisons to the sword, and manned the castles with his own soldiers.

The two great antagonists with whom Llewelyn had to contend at this period were evidently the Earl of Pembroke on the Southern, and Reginald de Braose on the Eastern, border, and the constant breaches of the peace on these two frontiers speedily involved the Welsh and English in a more general war. Hostilities were

¹ *Statuta Ecclesiæ Menevensis*, Harl. MSS. 1249, compared with a MS. at Stackpole Court.

continued during the winter, and in January or February, 1223, we find Llewelyn besieging the castle of Whittington near Oswestry.

In order to chastise the Welsh Prince for these repeated outrages, Henry came with an army into the Marches, from whence, however, he returned to England without performing any military exploit, having been reconciled to Llewelyn at the intercession of the Earl of Chester, who engaged for him that he should make restitution, by a certain day, for the injuries he had committed; an engagement, however, which he was slow to perform.¹

In the meantime the Earl of Pembroke "quickly returned from Ireland with a multitude of cavalry and infantry, and came to land with a vast fleet about Palm Sunday. And on Easter Monday he approached Aber-teivi, and on that day the castle was delivered to him; and on the Wednesday following he drew to Carmarthen, and obtained that castle also. And when Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, the person who had the custody of the castles on behalf of the King, heard that, he sent Griffith his son with a numerous army to oppose the Earl. And when Griffith understood that it was the intention of the Earl to come to Kidwelly,² he proceeded towards it, accompanied by the nobility of Wales. And Res Grig was afraid of the treachery of the burgesses and tried to excite the Welsh to seek the safety of the woods; but they did not give way, for they proceeded to the town, and burned the town and the church to the ground. When the Earl heard of this, he proceeded through the Tywi by the bridge of Carmarthen, and boldly awaited Griffith ap Llewelyn. And after continued fighting for the greater part of the day, each of the two armies separated and returned to their tents, many having fallen on both sides and many being wounded. And then, for lack of provision, Griffith ap Llewelyn returned back to his country. Then the Earl repaired the castle of Carmarthen; and began to build the castle of Cilgerran. It was not long after the work commenced before there came letters to him from the King and the Archbishop of

¹ Warrington's Hist.; Clark's Earls of Pembroke; and Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² The Earl was specially interested in the lordship of Kidwelly at this time, having purchased from the crown the custody of the lands and the marriage of Hawise daughter and heiress of Thomas de Londres (Clark's Earls of Pembroke).

Canterbury, requiring him to come in person to answer before them, and to make satisfaction for what he had done, and to receive satisfaction from the Prince for every wrong he had done him. And the Earl obeyed the command, and sailed with a small retinue in a ship for England, leaving his army at Cilgerran, to carry on the work commenced and to strengthen the place where they might perceive danger. And the Prince and the Earl appeared together at Ludlow before the council of the King and the Archbishop. And since they could not be reconciled, the Earl designed, through the aid of Earl Ferrers and Henry Pictot, Lord of Ewias, to proceed through the territory of that person to his own country; but he was not able, because Llewelyn ap Jerwerth had sent his son Griffith, and with him a large army, and Res Grig and his men, to Carnwyllion, to intercept the Earl and his men. And Llewelyn himself, with all his power, proceeded to Mabutryd; and there he waited for tidings from his men, and as to the advance of the Earl."¹

It would have been during this war between the Earl of Pembroke and Llewelyn that the former made an alliance with Cynan ap Howel, in whose company he entered the land of Cardigan, from which he carried away a great booty; and having taken the whole country as far as the river Ayron, he committed it to the custody of Cynan, and retired with his own retainers.²

On October 8, 1223, the King writes to William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, from Montgomery, informing him that Res Grig and Maelgon had returned to their fealty, and that he had received their homage; he therefore orders him to do no further injury to their lands, and if he had taken any of their lands since Thursday the Feast of St. Matthew last past (September 21), to restore them immediately. In the same manner it is written to Reginald de Braose and Res Vaughan on behalf of Res Grig, except only the last clause with respect to the restitution of land.³

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Annales Cambriæ (c) where the transaction is placed, as I believe, under the wrong year, namely 1221. ³ Rot. Lit. Claus. 7 Hen. III, memb. 1. I suppose this Res Vaughan (or Vychan) to have been the son of Res Grig; and he was then seemingly in rebellion against his father. He was probably the son who had formerly been given up as a hostage for his father, jointly with two other persons, when Res Grig was liberated from the King's prison about the 13th of June, 1215.

About this time, namely, in 8 Henry III, 1223-4, Llewelyn was superseded in his wardenship, and the Earl of Pembroke was made Governor of the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan in his stead.¹

Maelgon soon seceded from his English allegiance, as Llewelyn his Welsh Suzerain had already done. And in 1225 we find him claiming a share of territory from his nephews Owen ap Griffith and Cynan ap Howel. In the prosecution of this claim he found a powerful supporter in the Prince of North Wales, for whose peaceful behaviour he had, in conjunction with Res Grig and Meredith ap Robert, Lord of Kedewen, become security to the King in the year 1223.

We have seen that Llewelyn had been superseded in his Bailiwick, which probably carried with it some authority over the whole Honour of Cardigan. In the meantime the Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded him, had already driven Maelgon from the Southern portion of Cardigan and delivered it to the custody of Cynan ap Howel, by whom and by Owen ap Griffith I suppose the whole land of Cardigan to have now been held. Maelgon had probably gained little by his submission to the King, notwithstanding the Royal precept to the Earl of Pembroke to restore to him the lands that had been taken from him. He thus betakes himself to Llewelyn, and the Prince, remembering his former services, became his suitor to the King. When treating with Henry for a fresh peace he stipulated that Maelgon should have a share of the possessions of the Princes of South Wales, and the King, being, on his part, desirous of pleasing Llewelyn, and not unwilling to exercise his kingly prerogative of disposing of the lands of his Welsh vassals under circumstances which afforded some probability of his mandate being enforced, readily listened to his request. In a letter concerning a treaty of peace, bearing date April 14, 1225, he accordingly wrote to Llewelyn as follows: "Know ye that we have of our clemency conceded the petition you have made to us, by your chaplain, on behalf of Mailgon son of Res; to the effect that five discreet men should be chosen on your part, and five on the part of the Mareshal [William M. Earl of Pembroke], whose

¹ Clark's Earls of Pembroke.

names your said chaplain shall impart to you, for dividing the land between Mailgon himself and his nephews; which said persons shall meet together, at the Bridge of Kediaul' on the Wednesday before the Ascension of our Lord now coming, to make that partition, so that his nephews may have that which they ought to have, and so that there may remain to the same Mailgon that which ought to remain to him: on condition that you bring with you the said Mailgon, on the day aforesaid, that is to say, on the 15th day after the aforesaid day of John the Baptist, at Worcester, to do to us the homage and fealty that he owes to us. Witness the king at Westminster" on the day and year aforesaid.¹

Within two months afterwards, the King's mandate is issued to Owen commanding him to give up to his uncle the commot of Crewethyn, in the following words; "It is commanded to Owen son of Griffin that he cause his uncle Maillegon son of Res to have one commot of land, namely Crewethyn, as it was provided by the discreet men deputed by the Lord King and Lewelin prince of North Wales and Earl W. Mareschal, to divide the lands between his said uncle and himself and Kenaun. But let him do this without difficulty or delay holding firm peace with the same Mailgon and other partisans of the said Lewelin, the King's brother, lest it should be necessary for the King to put forth a heavier hand for the accomplishment of this. Witness the King at Westminster the 3rd day of June," 1225.²

Llewelyn is called the King's brother as being the husband of Joan the illegitimate daughter of King John. If the commot of Crewthyn were at this time given over to Maelgon it is probable that it was afterwards exchanged with Owen for that of Pennarth, which adjoined his former territory of Is Ayron. The commot of Pennarth was certainly in the hands of young Maelgon, the son of Maelgon, a few years later, and then made the subject of a further exchange. We hear no more of Kenaun or Cynan, the son of Howel Sais, in connection with the land of Cardigan, which was henceforward shared by Owen and Maelgon and their respective descendants. I

¹ Rot. Lit. Pat. 9 Hen. III, m. 17 d. ² Rot. Lit. Claus. 9 Hen. III, m. 14 d.

suppose that Maelgon had the land of Is Ayron restored to him at this time, and that Cynan had the Lordships of Emlyn and Oisterlof assigned to him as his share of territory; from which he was subsequently ejected by Walter Mareschal, in the time of his brother Earl Gilbert, about the year 1240, on the pretext of his being found in arms against the King.¹

In the year 1227 Res Grig was taken prisoner by his son Res Vychan at Llanarth, and only recovered his liberty at the price of the castle of Llandovery.² In the same year Meredith, Archdeacon of Cardigan, son of the Lord Res, died in the church of St. Mary at Llanbedr Tal Pont Stephan, and his body was conveyed to Menevia, where he was honourably buried by Jerwerth Bishop of Menevia, in the church of St. David, near the grave of the Lord Res, his father.³

The following year, 1228, is remarkable for the campaign of Keri, in which the English were worsted and William de Braose taken prisoner by Llewelyn. In that same year I find a grant from the crown of certain land in Cardigan, for which I am unable to account, unless it applies to the town of Cardigan and the adjacent commot of Bisberwern. Adam Robelin and Alexander his brother pay to the King £10 for half a knight's fee with the appurtenances in Kardigan which is called the West Berewic to be held of the King from the Feast of St. Michael 1228 for five years, rendering for the same to the King the annual service of two archers in lieu of all services.⁴

At the close of the year 1230 or early in 1231 died the restless Maelgon at Llannerch Aeron, and was buried in the chapter house at Strata Florida;⁵ when his territory descended to his son Maelgon Vychan. His death was soon followed by that of William Mareschal (II), Earl of Pembroke, the implacable enemy of the Welsh, who died on April 6, 1231.

At that time Llewelyn was again in arms against the English, on account of some dispute with respect to the land of Buellt and the treatment of his vassal Madoc Vychan; and, after destroying several castles in those

¹ Inq. 16 Edw. I, No. 77. ² & ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁴ Excerpta e Rot. Fin. 12 Hen. III, m. 3. ⁵ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

parts, he marched across South Wales into Gwent and burned the town of Caerleon upon Usk, but failed to take the castle, which was held by Morgan ap Howel who was then in alliance with the English. From thence Llewelyn proceeded to Neath and Kidwelly and levelled with the ground the castles at these places. In the meantime young Maelgon "burned Aberteivi to the gate of the castle, and slew all the burgesses, and returned victoriously, after obtaining a great booty. And then he returned and broke down the bridge of Aberteivi."¹ He was now joined by his cousin Owen ap Griffith ap Res, and some of Llewelyn's men, who proceeded to storm the fortress, and before many days had passed "they broke the castle with Engines; and the garrison was compelled to quit the walls and surrender the fortress."²

On Nov. 30, 1231, Res Crec (Grig) was included in a temporary peace between England and Wales on the side of Llewelyn.³ And in this same year, after the death of William Earl of Pembroke, the Honour of Carmarthen and Cardigan was bestowed by the King upon Hubert de Burgh, and his wife Margaret, eldest daughter of Alexander King of Scotland.⁴

The revolt of Richard Earl of Pembroke (brother to the late Earl) and the other discontented Barons, in the year 1233, afforded to the Welsh an opportunity of carrying on their warfare with a better prospect of success. These English Lords, withdrawing from the danger that threatened them, retired into Wales; and entered into a firm league with Llewelyn and the other Welsh Princes; by which they mutually bound themselves, under the most solemn engagements, not to form any treaty, or conclude a peace, but with the common consent of the confederacy.⁵

Alarmed at this revolt of his Barons, rendered formidable by their union with the Welsh, Henry convened his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester, from whence, soon after the feast of the Assumption, in August, he marched to Hereford, and sent on his defiance to the Mareschal by the Bishop of St. David's.

In the meantime "the Earl of Pembroke and Owen ap

1 & 2 Brut-y-Tywyssogion. 3 Rym. Fæd. 4 Clark's Earls of Pembroke. 5 War-
rington; quoting Matthew Paris, p. 326, and Polidore Virgil, p. 301.

Griffith assembled a great army and proceeded against St. David's and burned it, slaughtering the King's men who were there in garrison. After which they quickly reduced the following castles, namely, Cardiff and Aber-gavenny, Pen Gelli, Blaen Llyvni, and Bwlch y Dinas, and razed them to the ground, except Cardiff."¹

The King advanced no further than Hereford; where finding the country laid waste, and fearing lest his army might perish for want of provisions, he made good his retreat from the enemies' territory, and remained some days at his castle of Grosmont in Monmouthshire.

It was here that the English army, which lay encamped in the open field, was surprised and attacked in the night by the Earl of Pembroke who took possession of the money, provisions, and furniture, belonging to the King's army, together with five hundred horses, and forced the confused and terrified soldiers to fly for shelter within the walls of the castle; after which the King retired to Gloucester where he remained until the following spring, in the hope that his presence on the Borders might be the means of keeping the malcontents in awe.²

In the same year Owen ap Griffith, and Maelgon Vychan ap Maelgon ap Res, and Res Vychan (or Res Grig), with their sons, and the forces of Llewelyn and the Earl of Pembroke, made an unsuccessful attempt against the castle of Carmarthen. After they had besieged it for three months their efforts were frustrated by Henry de Turberville, who came to the assistance of the garrison with many ships and a large army from Bristol. Turberville ran one of his vessels at high tide against the temporary bridge which had been erected by the besiegers, by which means he succeeded in breaking it down, and thereby caused the death of some 300 of the assailants. When the survivors perceived that their expedition was not prospering they abandoned the siege and returned to their respective homes.³ Res Grig appears to have been badly wounded on this occasion, and dying soon afterwards at Llandeilo Vawr, he "was buried at St. David's, near the grave of his father."⁴ "The same year, Maelgon

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Warrington; quoting Matt. Paris, p. 328; and Polidore Vergil, p. 301. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion, Annales Cambriæ, and Annales de Theokesberia.

⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

Vychan completed the building of the castle of Trevilan, which had previously been commenced by his father Maelgon."¹

The lands of Res Grig were apparently divided between his sons, and chiefly between Res Vychan and Meredith. The former was certainly his eldest son, but the latter is in one place described as his son and heir.² I have little doubt that Meredith's mother was Joane, daughter of Richard de Clare, 4th Earl of Hertford, and sister of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford³ (called also Earl of Clare), who was married to Res Grig in 1219. I have not been able to discover who was his first wife. In the Salusbury Pedigrees he has two wives assigned to him, namely, Jane, daughter of Richard Earl of Clare, and Elliw, daughter of Thomas ap Guban ap Bleddyn, Lord of Brecknock.⁴ But as the former is called his *first* wife we cannot place much reliance on this statement. The heralds have also assigned to Res Grig four other sons, besides the two already mentioned, namely Jerwerth (from which they derive the families of Ystefin and Lewis), Howel, and Caradoc. I am unable to verify these statements. With one exception their names do not occur among the Magnates of Wales; but I find a pardon granted to Howel ap Res Grig (Ohelo ap Res Crek) and his men, dated from the Tower of London on January 7, 1278.⁵

After the King's retreat to Gloucester, the Earl of Pembroke and his confederates carried on their depredations with renewed vigour; and in the following year, 1234, they extended their inroads as far as Shrewsbury, a part of which they laid in ashes.⁶ In the meantime the King remained at Gloucester in helpless inactivity until after the feast of the Epiphany, when he removed to Winchester.⁷ But his ministers found means to excite the Earl's vassals in Ireland to a revolt; so that Pembroke had to pass over to that country in haste, attended by only fifteen knights. Here, after shewing extraordinary

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. The castle of Trevilan was situate in the vale of Ayron and modern hundred of Ilar (South division) in Cardigan, just north of the river Ayron, and 7 miles N. by W. from Lampeter (Lewis' Top. Dic.). ² See above page 102. ³ Burke's Dormant and Extinct Peerage. ⁴ Salusbury Pedigrees, copy *penes* the late Mr. J. Morris, of Shrewsbury. ⁵ Rot. Wall. 6-9 Edw. I, m. 12 (de anno sexto). ⁶ Warrington's Hist. ⁷ Powell's Hist.

proofs of valour, he was treacherously wounded and taken prisoner; and, after languishing fourteen days, he died in confinement, not without suspicion of poison, on April 16, 1234; being succeeded in all his honours by his brother Gilbert.

Llewelyn was now induced to listen to terms of peace; and a treaty was made by which, amongst other things, it was stipulated that all the Barons, as well English as Welsh, who were confederated with Llewelyn in the late war should be received to the King's peace, and re-established in their honours and estates.¹

This was followed by a period of comparative tranquillity, and continued renewals of truce, which lasted for some years.

During this period, in the year 1235, Owen, son of Griffith ap Res, died at Strata Florida, on the Wednesday after the octave of the Epiphany (January 18), and was buried by the side of his brother Res;² "being" says Powel "a noble Gentleman, and verie well beloved." He was succeeded in the lordship of Cardigan Uwch Ayron or North Cardigan by his son Meredith ap Owen.

In this year the Earl of Pembroke had a grant in fee, from the crown, of the Honour of Carmarthen, and of certain lands and castles in that county and in Cardigan.³ It is doubtful whether any of these lands were at this time in the King's hands; nor do I think that the Earl of Pembroke obtained possession of Cardigan Castle till it was taken from Maelgon by his brother Walter Mareschal in May 1240.

In the year 1236 died Gwenllian, daughter of Lord Res the great, and wife of Ednyfed Vychan.⁴ The same Annalist who records her death, and who was probably a Monk of Strata Florida, incidentally throws a light upon the seignorial rights of the young Lords of Cardigan at this time. He tells us that about the Feast of Michaelmas (1236) Maelgon ap Maelgon went to Prince Llewelyn and, by payment of a heavy fine, procured an exchange of lands between himself and Meredith ap Owen, by which the latter gave to Maelgon the commot of Mevenyth for that of Pennarth. And no

¹ Warrington, compared with Powel and others. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. ³ Clark's Earls of Pembroke. ⁴ Annales Cambriæ.

sooner was Mevenyth in Maelgon's hands than he prepared to despoil the monks of Strata Florida of their lands at Strata Meuric, which his ancestors as well as he himself had given to the said monks.¹

The obituary of the year 1237 records the death of Cynwric (or Kenwric);—that of 1239 the death of Meredith ddall (or the blind). Both were sons of the Lord Res, and the last was buried at Whitland Abbey.² These brothers are said to have been blinded as youths by order of King Henry II, in 1165, while helpless hostages in his hands.³

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*. ² *Brut-y-Tywysogion*. ³ It is worthy of note that these persons survived their merciless sentence 72 and 74 years respectively; an observation which suggests that mere infants were given as hostages in the campaign of 1165.

CHAPTER VIII.

In the year 1238, Prince Llewelyn, who was now growing old and infirm, convened a meeting of the Welsh Lords at Strata Florida; where they renewed to him their oaths of allegiance, and likewise did homage to David, his son by the Princess Joan, who was preferred by Llewelyn to his elder son Griffith as his successor. But the King was so jealous of his authority over Wales, that he sent him a summons to appear before him at Worcester, under a safe conduct, to answer for this proceeding. And Matthew Paris informs us that Prince Llewelyn, being impotent by reason of a palsy, and sore disquieted by his son Griffith, sent ambassadors to the King of England, signifying to him, that forasmuch as he could not expect to live long, by reason of his age, he was desirous to lead the remainder of his days in peace and quietness; and therefore he now proposed to submit himself to the government and protection of the King, of whom he was willing to hold his lands; promising withal that, whenever the King required his assistance, he would serve him, both with men and money, to the utmost of his power.¹

Such a peace was afterwards concluded, though in fact it was nothing more than a continuation of the truce for another year. Prince Llewelyn died in April, 1240;² and was succeeded by his son David, who at this time had his brother Griffith in prison.

In May, 1240, David ap Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, attended by his Barons, made his submission to the King at Gloucester; where a peace was concluded on the following conditions, namely, that David should surrender his claim to the independency of North Wales as well as to such territories as had been claimed by Griffith ap Wenunwen and other of the King's vassals. Moreover by this treaty the homages of all the Barons of

¹ Warrington, and Powel. ² Annales de Theokesberia.

Wales were to remain to the King and his heirs, and all homicides and other injuries were to be mutually forgiven.¹

In this same month Walter Mareschal, who seems to have been acting for his brother, Earl Gilbert, brought a great army to Cardigan and strengthened the castle by building the tower.² And about this time he took possession of certain lands pertaining to the Honour of Carmarthen in the name of his brother Gilbert.³ These lands were, doubtless, the Lordships of Emlyn and Oisterlof, from which he ejected Cynan ap Howel the Welsh Lord thereof;⁴ a fuller account of which lawless transaction will be given in a future page.

During this time the Lords of South Wales were left to defend themselves as best they could against the attacks of their English neighbours; and we find Maelgon shortly afterwards complaining to the King and his council of the treatment he had received at the hands of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, with whom he seems to have been at one time in treaty.

We have a full account of this transaction in the Plea Roll for the morrow of St. Michael 25 Hen. III (September 30, 1241),⁵ from which we learn that G. Marescall Earl of Pembroke was summoned to appear before the King to answer to the said King and to Meylgon son of Melgon why he took the homage of the said Meylgon, against his will, for all his lands between the rivers of Ayrn and Tywy which the said Meylgon ought to hold of the King *in capite*, as all his ancestors had held them of the King's ancestors, being Kings of England, and for which the same Meylgon had already done homage to the King himself.

To which summons the Earl appeared and made answer, that he and Meylgon had entered into confederation, and he proffered a certain writing in which it was contained that a certain compact had been made between the said Earl and the aforesaid Meylgon, to the effect that Res the son of Meylgon should marry Isabella daughter

¹ Warrington; Appendix to Powel's Hist. (ed. of 1774). On this occasion Henry girded his nephew David ap Llewelyn with a knightly sword, and conceded to him all the lands which his father had lawfully held; and David wore the lesser Diadem, which is called "garlonde," the "insigne" of the Principality of North Wales, subjecting himself for all that he held, however, to the King of England (Annales de Theokesberia); Rymer's Fœdera. ² & ³ Annales Cambriæ. ⁴ Inq. 16 Edw. I, No. 77. ⁵ Abbreviatio Placitorum, p. 108.

of the said Earl, and that as well the said Meylgon as the aforesaid Rès and his heirs should hold all the aforesaid lands, except the Castle of Kardigan and the commot of Hishirwen, which the said Earl had of the King's gift, of the said Earl and his heirs, saving the fealty of both towards King Henry himself, for ever, and thereupon he received his homage.

He was asked by what warrant he did this. He replied that he did it by virtue of the King's gift of the castle of Kardigan and the commot with the appurtenances. And he said that when the King gave him the aforesaid castle neither the King himself was in seizin thereof nor yet the said Earl. But after Llewelyn was dead, the aforesaid Meylgon being not at that time in the King's fealty, the said Earl, by virtue of the aforesaid gift, sent his brother Walter with an army against Meylgon, who took from him all the said lands. And he said it was true that the King and his ancestors had always been accustomed to hold the aforesaid lands in the same way that he now held them, and even in time of peace. And moreover he said that when he delivered up to the King the Honour of Aquila the King conceded to him all his castles, lands, and tenements, and all his tenures with their appurtenances which he held on that day, namely, on the Vigil of Saint Botolph, as well in England as in Wales. And to this the Roll of the Chancellor bore witness, in which was recorded the King's charter which the Earl then received. And he affirmed that he was in possession of the aforesaid castle of Kardigan and the commot and all the aforesaid lands on the aforesaid Vigil of St. Botolph. And he sought that this might be allowed him. And if that plea would not avail he had more to say.

And Meylgon appeared and said it was true that he had done homage to the Earl for the aforesaid lands, and that it had been so arranged between them under the aforesaid compact, as it had been stated, but that he did it under the force and compulsion of the Earl. He urged that, whatever he might have done under force and compulsion, he ought nevertheless to hold all the aforesaid lands, except the castle of Cardigan and the commot, of the Lord King *in capite*. And he proffered a charter of King John, the father of the King that now is, which

testified that the said King John conceded, and by his charter confirmed, to Meylgon the son of Res the iiij cantreds which are called Kardigan, except the castle of Kardigan and the commot called hishirwen which the aforesaid Meylgon gave up to the said King John for two hundred marks which he paid him; and that he conceded and confirmed to the same Meylgon the castle of Kilgaren and Emelin to have and to hold to the aforesaid Meylgon and his heirs, &c. He also proffered another charter of the same King which testified in like manner that the same King conceded and confirmed to the aforesaid Meylgon son of Res the aforesaid iiij cantreds, as well those that were his of right as the others that he had acquired or should acquire from the King's enemies, to hold of the same King and his heirs; and that the same Meylgon gave up to the King and quitclaimed to him for ever the said castle of Cardigan and the commot. Wherefore the said Meylgon says that the aforesaid Meylgon son of Res, his father, was enfeoffed by the said King John in all the aforesaid lands (except the castle of Cardigan and commot of hishirwen), and that he, after the death of the said Meylgon his father, was seized of them until the said Earl occupied them against him by force, and that by that occupation he is injured to the amount of ten thousand marks.

The Earl repudiated the force and injury, &c., as supported only by the word of Meylgon himself. And as to the matter, with which the aforesaid Meylgon charges him, of having imprisoned him at Kilgaren and compelled him to make his homage and the aforesaid compact, namely on the morrow of the birthday of our Lord (December 26, 1240), the Earl was then at Haverford in Wales; and he affirmed that Meylgon made his homage and the aforesaid compact willingly and not by compulsion,—and thereupon he proffered evidence (*producit sectam*).

The Earl also asserted that the said King which now is gave him the aforesaid castle of Kardigan and commot with all their appurtenances by his charter of many years since, and besides he placed himself in seizin of the aforesaid lands as those which were appurtenant to the aforesaid castle and commot, and which the King's bailiffs were always accustomed to hold as appurtenances to the

aforesaid castle except when the aforesaid Meylgon and his ancestors had occupied them against the King, as they had many times done; and so had the King in like manner (frequently) occupied them against them.

He said moreover that the charters of King John which the aforesaid Meylgon had produced were void because neither the aforesaid Meylgon nor his ancestors had ever, since those charters were made, had seizin of the aforesaid lands for which he had taken the homage of Meylgon, except by a violent occupation against the King and in time of peace, wherefore it seemed to him that those charters ought not to hurt him.

Meylgon now said that he knew not how to plead according to the English custom nor had he any counsel to assist him; and therefore a day was given him to deliberate until the morrow. And the same day was given to the Earl so that he could say anything else that he wished on the morrow.

On the morrow the Earl appeared and was asked whether he wished to say anything else; and he had nothing further to say, but he recited what he had before said. Meylgon also said again that he knew not how to plead nor had any counsel, but he truly affirmed that his ancestors had held the aforesaid lands except the castle of Kardigan and commot of the King *in capite* and that he ought to hold them in like manner. And he said that he was now in seizin of the aforesaid lands, for which he had done homage to the King, and he sought to hold them peaceably and desired that the King should take them into his own hands.

Afterwards the King appeared and said that when he gave the aforesaid Earl the said castle, &c., he was himself in seizin of the homage of the said Meylgon for the other lands in which he had been previously enfeoffed by King John his father, and he sought judgment in his favour because the Earl had acknowledged that he had taken the homage of Meylgon for the same lands. Moreover he said that by the forcible occupation which the Earl had made of the said lands against Meylgon he had been injured in a manner that he would not have taken ten thousand marks for the injury and disgrace, for which he also sought judgment.

The Earl denied that the force, &c., which he had used or whatever he had done against the King's peace and fealty had been done by him as against his lord; and said that it did not appear to him that he ought to make any further answer inasmuch as he had already answered as well the King as the aforesaid Meylgon in all things &c., and nothing now remained but to pronounce judgment (*et nichil remansit ulterius faciendum nisi solummodo judicium*).

Judgment was accordingly pronounced, as follows, by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Hereford, and other of the lords spiritual and temporal. It seemed to them that if those lands for which the Earl had taken Meylgon's homage were appurtenances to the castle of Kardigan and the commot, the Earl had then committed trespass against the King because he had taken it without the King's license, and because the King had not given him the said castle with the appurtenances except for a term which might come to an end, namely until he should restore to him or his heirs his lands in Normandy, wherefore, through such a donation, he could not take the perpetual homage of the said Meylgon for the aforesaid lands. Moreover if the said lands were not appurtenances to the said castle and commot the Earl had nevertheless committed trespass against the King in taking the homage of the said Meylgon, the King's Baron, for the lands which he ought to hold of the King *in capite*. And so it was adjudged that the King should receive the homage of Meylgon, his Baron, and the Earl for his trespass was *in misericordiâ*.

Again, since the Earl had been summoned to appear before the King at Wodestock at the instance and complaint of Meylgon and the Earl had sufficiently defended himself against the said Meylgon, it was adjudged that the Earl might retire *sine die* and that the said Meylgon was *in misericordiâ*. Touching the other matter of which the King had accused the Earl, as to the damage he had received of ten thousand marks (although the King had not stated how or in what way), the Earl had sufficiently defended himself against the King, and it was adjudged that he should be acquitted thereof "*juxta illud mameles fremeles*." It was moreover to be understood that both he and Meylgon renounced the compact into which they had entered, and conceded that if any instrument for the

same consideration should thereafter be made it should be altogether null and void.

Not long after this, namely, on the 27th of June, 1241, Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, came to an untimely end. He had advertised a tournament to take place "a cross-bow shot" from Hertford, before taking his departure for the Holy Land. The tournament he called "a fortune" in order to evade the Royal Proclamation.¹ While spurring and checking his powerful unbroken Italian war horse, the bridle snapped at the bit, and the animal raised his head and struck his rider sharply on the breast. The Earl was heavily armed, and much fatigued; he fell senseless, and was dragged with one foot in the stirrup and severely injured. He died that same evening in the priory at Hertford, where his bowels were buried before the high altar; and, on the day following his death, his body was conveyed to the Temple in London, his brother Walter leading the procession.²

Upon the death of Earl Gilbert, John de Monmouth was made chief Bailiff of the counties or honours of Cardigan and Carmarthen; and the Earldoms descended to Walter brother of Gilbert, to whom the custody of these castles was afterwards restored.³

In the meantime David ap Llewelyn had taken up arms in the spring of the year 1241, and invaded the territories of Ralph de Mortimer; but before the year ended he was constrained to accept of more stringent and humiliating terms, whereby he consented to give up his brother Griffith to the King, to restore to the Barons all such lands, lordships, and castles, as had been taken from them since the commencement of the war between King John and Llewelyn, to make satisfaction for all injuries; and to defray all the charges of King Henry in the late expedition, to restore to him all the homages which King John had received or ought to have received, especially from the noblemen of Wales, and lastly to pledge himself under the penalty of forfeiture, that he would never again recede from the King's service or disobey his commands,—for which he gives hostages.⁴

¹ The classical usage of the Latin word "discrimen" exactly illustrates the Earl's idea. ² & ³ Clark's Earls of Pembroke. ⁴ Warrington, and Appendix to Powel's Hist.

On May 15, 1242, the King embarked at Portsmouth¹ on his unfortunate expedition to Gascony, from whence he returned in September 1243, reaching Portsmouth about the 27th of that month.²

In the year 1244 Res Mechyll (otherwise called Res Vychan), son of Res Grig died.³ And in that same year, before the end of April,⁴ Griffith ap Llewelyn broke his neck in attempting to escape from the King's prison in London.⁵ Whereupon the King gave to his eldest son Edward the title of Prince of Wales; a measure which so exasperated Prince David that he took up arms again at once. He was joined by all the Welsh Princes except Griffith ap Madoc, Griffith ap Wenwynwyn, and Morgan ap Howel, who were afterwards compelled to join the confederacy.

The Welshmen were supported by Pope Innocent IV, who released them from their oath of allegiance to the King. And David, encouraged by so powerful an alliance, invaded the Marches and ravaged the estates of the English Lords. Henry was in the North when the war broke out, and though he returned from the Scottish border with a powerful army, he did not then think it expedient to keep together his army or to visit the Welsh border in person. The Earl of Hereford and the most powerful of the Lords Marchers were commissioned to check the depredations of the Welsh, but they were unable to make head against them, and after one or two ineffectual attempts to negotiate a peace, the King caused David and his adherents to be excommunicated by the English Bishops, and prepared to invade Wales in person in the following year.

On January 6, 1245, the King expedites his letters to John de Monmouth, commanding him to summon the following Barons of South Wales to appear before him at his court at Westminster on the morrow of Ash Wednesday, to answer, and to receive judgment, concerning

¹ Introduction to Record Edition of *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.*, by C. Roberts. ² MS. Itin. Hen. III. It is stated in the *Brat* that in 1242 Maelgon Vychan strengthened his castle of Garthrugyn. I have not been able to identify this castle, nor do I know to whom the statement refers. There was another Maelgon Vychan or Maelgon ap Maelgon living at this date, who was one of the Lords of Melenith or Keri, and since it is recorded at the same time that the castle of Buellt was strengthened by John de Mynoe, and that of Melenith by Roger Mortimer, I think it probable that this notice may refer to Maelgon Vyehau of Melenith. ³ *Brut-y-Tywysogion*. ⁴ *Rymer's Fædera*. ⁵ *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, Warrington, &c.

the homicides, burnings, depredations, and other transgressions and injuries which they have perpetrated against the King's peace, namely Maelgun fil. Maelgun; Mereduk fil. Oweyn; Mereduk fil. Res Screk; Filii Res Wachan; Res fil. Griffin fil. Morgan Gam; and Howel Amereduk (i.e. Howel ap Meredith).¹

This will give us an approximate representation of the chief lords of South Wales at this period, Maelgon and Meredith ap Owen being the lords of Cardigan, Meredith ap Res, and his nephews the sons of Res Mechyll ap Res Grig, being the lords of Carmarthen, and Res ap Griffith ap Morgan Gam and Howel ap Meredith being the contemporary lords of Gwent.

Similar instructions were at the same time issued to John le Strange, Justice of Chester, with respect to the Barons of North Wales.

On January 10 the King sent orders to Mauricē fitz Gerald, the Justiciary of Ireland, to invade the Welsh coasts and to give the King's army of Wales such assistance as he could. During the ensuing month, constant hostilities were carried on between the English and Welsh, and repeated engagements took place, in one of which the brave Herbert fitz Matthew was slain by the Welshmen near Montgomery.

It was not till after Midsummer, however, that the King reached Wales in person. He summoned all his nobles and military chiefs to assemble on the Border about the beginning of July, and arrived at Gloucester himself on July 20. On the 1st of August he was at Worcester, on the 5th at Bridgenorth, on the 6th at Wenlock, on the 8th at Shrewsbury, and on the 11th at Chester, where he remained till the 21st, after which he joined the camp at Gannok² (the name given by the English to Diganwy in Caernarvonshire). Here he remained for more than two months fortifying the castle and strengthening his position in those parts. During this time his soldiers had constant engagements with the Welsh, who had the advantage of being in their own country, but the King's army does not appear to have been able to penetrate the interior of Wales.

The situation of the English at this time must have

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*. ² MS. *Itin. Hen. III.*

been a very trying one. Matthew Paris has preserved an interesting letter written by a nobleman in the English army, which is dated on Sept. 24, from the King's camp at Gannok, describing the want of necessaries which prevailed there. It gives an account of an engagement between a detachment of Welsh, on the one side, and 300 Welshmen, Marchers of Cestreshire and Salopeshire, on the other, the object of which was to gain possession of an Irish vessel laden with provisions which had been stranded. "We lie here," says the writer, "watching, praying, fasting, and freezing. We *watch* in defense against the Welsh, who beat up our quarters every night; we *pray* for a safe passage home; we *fast* because we have no food left, the half-penny loaf being raised to five pence; and we *freeze* because we have no warm clothing and only linen tents to keep out the cold."

The King remained in camp at Gannok from August 25 to October 28. On that or the following day he moved to Chester where he stayed till November 3. It is difficult to estimate the exact results of this campaign. The English, less accustomed to cold and privation than the hardy Welshmen, suffered severely from these causes, and large numbers of them perished besides those who were slain by the Welshmen. On the other hand the Welshmen were hardly pressed by the English and Irish and lost numbers by starvation besides those who fell by the sword. The war must have been very disastrous to them, and unquestionably left them in a crippled and impoverished state.

We hear but little of how this war was conducted in South Wales, but the siege of the castle of Deresloyn (Drosslwyn) by Nicholas de Moels, the Seneschal of Carmarthen, is mentioned by one of the Annalists.¹

Towards the close of the war the King renewed his overtures to the several Welsh Lords, and on November 1 he declares by his letters patent, dated from Chester, that if Nicholas de Moels and Robert Walerand should happen to receive to the King's peace the sons of Res Junior, the King would remit to them all the indignation he had conceived against them for having receded from his fidelity and adhered to David ap Llewelyn, and would receive them back to his favour.²

¹ *Annales Cambriæ* (c). ² Pat. 30 Hen. III, m. 10.

The King left Chester two days afterwards and proceeded by Combermere, Lilleshall, Roddington and Worcester, to Windsor, which he reached on November 29.¹

In the course of this month, by means of large bribes, he had won over the Pope to his side, who now consented to the excommunication of David and his adherents. And on November 10 the King issued a new proclamation from Worcester forbidding his subjects to hold any communication with his enemies the Welsh.²

We must not omit to notice the death of Walter, Earl of Pembroke, which occurred on November 24, and was quickly followed by that of his last surviving brother, Anselm Mareschal, who died eleven days later, when the great inheritance of the family was divided between his sisters or their representatives. The estates, in Dyvet or West Wales alone, comprised the Lordships of Tenby, St. Florence, Pembroke, Haverford, Castle Martin, and Narberth, with lands, &c., in Kilgerran. Isabel, wife of David ap Llewelyn was one of the Earl's nieces and co-heirs; and it is observable that the King's Bailiff was ordered to retain the castle of Haverford and £66 16s. 8d. of rent in Haverford which fell to her share.³

Prince David ap Llewelyn died at Aberconway in March, 1246; and as he left no issue, he was succeeded by his two nephews, Owen Goch and Llewelyn, who divided his dominions between them.⁴

It is probable that Meredith ap Owen, and Meredith ap Res Grig had ere this returned to the King's peace, and been confirmed by him in the possession of their lands; for in this year, after the death of David, they were commissioned, in conjunction with Nicholas de Moels, Justice of Carmarthen, to dispossess Maelgon Vychan of his lands. Maelgon was thereupon compelled to flee into North Wales, to Owen and Llewelyn, the sons of Griffith ap Llewelyn, and leave his territory to strangers; "because the royal power summoned all that adhered to the King against Owen and Llewelyn, and Maelgon Vychan; and Howel ap Meredith of Glamorgan, who were then along with them in Gwyneth, being entirely

1 MS. Itin. Hen. III. 2 Rymer's *Fædera*. 3 Clark's *Earls of Pembroke*. 4 Brut-y-Tywysogion.

dispossessed by the Earl of Clare.¹ And when they became acquainted with that they kept themselves in the mountains and wilds."²

On August 20, 1246, the King took the homage of Res the son of Res Wachan (or Vaughan) at Woodstock. And because the same Res and his brothers and their men had returned to the King's fealty, the King's lieges are commanded to suffer the said Res and his brothers to pass hither and thither freely where they will.³

On August 27, 1246, the King issues his letters patent, dated at Woodstock, ratifying and confirming the assignment of Gwonhonithe (Gwynnionith) which his beloved and faithful Mereduk son of Owen had made to his wife Elen in dower, at the door of the church, when they were married.⁴

On the 25th of November of that year, the King, by his letters patent dated at Clarendon, notifies that he had received to his favour, homage, and fealty, Mailgon son of Mailgon, and by his favour conceded to him two commots of land with the appurtenances in the *county* of Kaerdigan, namely the commot of Goneyrglyn, and the commot of Yscoeyt, which "Mereducus filius Oweyn" formerly held, to be held by the said Mailgon and his heirs of the King and his heirs, so long as they should adhere to his fealty and service.⁵

From a subsequent inquisition, which will be more fully quoted in due course, it appears that Maelgon had made an exchange of territory with Meredith ap Owen about the year 1245, by which the dominion of the former had been transferred to Uch Ayron, and that of Meredith to Is Ayron in which the commot of Iscoed was situate.⁶ It is probable that when Maelgon was driven from his lands, in 1246, some portion of them were transferred to Meredith ap Owen, who acted at that time in conjunction with the King's Justiciary of Carmarthen against Maelgon; and on Maelgon's submission to the

¹ This dispossession by the Earl of Clare must be understood to apply to Howel ap Meredith, of Glamorgan, only. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion. The Princes of Gwyneth held their own against the King through the winter but were compelled to make their peace with him in the following spring under very rigorous conditions, whereby they surrendered to the King the whole country between the frontier of Cheshire and the river Conway together with the homage of all the Barons of Wales (Rymer's *Fædera*). ³ Rot. Pat. 30 Hen. III, m. 2. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Rot. Pat. 31 Hen. III, m. 9. ⁶ Inq. p.m. 7 Edw. I, No. 76.

King in November, 1246, there were only given to him for his dominion the commots of Geneurglyn and Iscoed-Ucherwern, which formed the two extremities of the land of Cardigan, and which (as we are informed by the Welsh Annalist) were all that he could obtain of his inheritance.¹ He was afterwards allowed to exchange the commot of Iscoed for that of Crewthyn;² under which arrangement his territory will have consisted of the two Northern commots.

On January 27, 1247, the King by his charter dated at Windsor, conceded to Mereduk son of Res the land of Iken [or Iscennen], which he claimed as his by right of inheritance (*jure hereditario*), to have and to hold to himself and his heirs according to the law and custom of Wales so long as they shall continue faithful to the King's service: and if the King or his heirs should wish to take the said land into their own hands they will give to Meredith or his heirs a reasonable exchange for it.³ It is probable that he never obtained seizin of this commot; for we learn from the Liberate Roll of the same year that Mereduc fil. Res had lost his lands on account of his service to the King; and, on August 20, 1248, the Sheriff of Salop and Stafford is ordered to allow him £20 out of the revenues of the said counties to support him in the King's service.⁴ In a subsequent order to the same sheriff, in the year 1250, it is stated that he receives this sum annually;⁵ and we find by repeated entries in the said Roll that he continued to receive it by half-yearly instalments until the 41st of Henry III, Nov., 1256, inclusive; after which no such entries occur on the Liberate Roll.

While Meredith ap Res was thus taking part with the King, his nephew Res Vychan and his cousin Maelgon Vychan had once more fallen away from their allegiance. Under the year 1248 we are told that Owen [ap Meredith] ap Robert obtained Cedewen his right;⁶ and Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll recovered the castle of Carreg Cennen,

¹ Annales Cambriæ. ² Inq. p.m. 7 Edw. I, No. 76. ³ Pat. 31 Hen. III, m. 8. ⁴ Lib. Rot. 32 Hen. III, m. 3. ⁵ In the Pipe-Roll of Michacinas 1250, the Sheriff of Shropshire states the cognate payment.—*Et Mereduc fil. Rici £10 de termino Sti Mich. hoc anno, per breve Regis de £20 quas percipit per annum per manus Vicecomitis Salopie ad sustentandum se in servitio Regis.* ⁶ Brut-y-Tywysogion. The Lordship of Cedewen, which formed an ancient cantrev situate in the present county of Montgomery, was held by Meredith ap Robert in 1210. He was one of the chief supporters and confederates of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth in 1211 and during the period of his triumphs in 1215-16. When the castle of Kinnerley, co. Salop, had been ransacked and demolished

which his mother had deceitfully given over to the English out of ill-will towards her son.¹ On September 26, 1250, Henry, by his charter, dated at Windsor, commits to Robert Walerand the custody of the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and the lands which belonged to Mailgon son of Mailgon, and likewise the island of Lundy, to hold during the King's pleasure, he paying for them, during time of peace, 40 marks, and covenanting to give up the island in its present state as to farming stock and utensils.² We cannot assume from this that these lands were then actually in the King's hands: but it is not easy to follow the many changes of ownership which took place during this period in which Prince Edward was assuming to himself the jurisdiction as well as the title of Prince of Wales.

At the close of the year 1251 we have to record the death of Morgan son of the Lord Res, after taking the religious habit at Strata Florida.³ And in the following year, 1252, Res junior, the son of Res Vaphan (or Vychan), gives the King 20 marks to hold the same liberties and customs, for his lands in Keyrmardin, which he and his ancestors had held in the time of Llewelyn formerly Prince of North Wales.⁴ At this time Wales was tolerably quiet; and William de Valence and the Bishop of Bangor declared officially that the Marches were subdued to the English law.⁵

by the forces of Llewelyn, during the minority of Henry III, in 1222-3, Llewelyn bound himself to make satisfaction for the damage done. On this occasion Meredith fil. Roberti was one of his securities for the performance of the agreement (Pat. 7 Hen. III, m. 2 in dorso). He was also one of those Welsh Barons who, in 1241, petitioned the King in behalf of Griffith ap Llewelyn the brother of David Prince of North Wales. The Brut records the death of Meredith ap Robert, chief counsellor of Wales, after taking the religious habit at Strata Florida, in 1244. The death of Owen ap Meredith ap Robert, of Cedewen, in 1236, is previously recorded. I know not to whom this last mentioned notice refers. But in 1248 the chronicler states that "Owen ap Robert obtained Cedewen his right." This statement is somewhat inaccurate and calculated to mislead. It was Owen ap Meredith, and not Owen ap Robert, who thus recovered Cedewen in 1248; for in that year, on July 30, Oweyn fil. Meredue paid 300 marks to the King that he might hold the land of Kedewy which had belonged to the said Meredith; and the Bailiff of Montgomery had orders to put him in seizin thereof after taking his security for the said 300 marks (Rot. Fin. 32 Hen. III, m. 3). But this is not the only instance in which I find the term "ap" applied to the lapse of more than one generation. Owen ap Meredith, Lord of Cedewen, died in 1261 (Brut-y-Tywysogion). In 1278 Owen son of Madoc complains to the King to whom he addresses himself as "*homo vester de Kedewein*," that, after he had come to the King's peace, his men had been spoiled of their goods by the men of Griffin son of Gwenoewey (Rot. Parl. 6 Edw. I, No. 26). This Owen ap Madoc may, not improbably, have been the grandson of Owen ap Meredith; but of this I have no evidence.

1 Brut-y-Tywysogion. 2 Rot. Fin. 34 Hen. III, m. 2. 3 Brut-y-Tywysogion. According to the Golden Grove MS. Morgan ap Res was Lord of Llangyby and own brother to Maelgon Mawr. 4 Rot. Fin. 36 Hen. III, m. 1. 5 Clark's Earls of Pembroke.

CHAPTER IX.

In August, 1253, Henry sailed for Bordeaux, leaving the care of the Kingdom to Prince Edward, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and the Queen. After his success in Gascony, in 1254, a marriage was arranged between Prince Edward and Elianor, sister of the King of Castile, which was solemnized in October of that year; and the King made over to Prince Edward his rights in Ireland, Wales, and Gascony.

In this year, on the Feast of St. Katherine (Nov. 25, 1254) Gwenllian or Gwenthlian, daughter of Maelgon Vychan, died at Llanvihangel Gelynrod, and was buried in the Chapter House of the Monks at Strata Florida.¹

The King and Queen kept their Christmas at Boulogne, and embarked for England on the night of St. John the Apostle (Dec. 26).²

In the following year 1255, died Meredith ap Llewelyn, the widower of Gwenthlian, whose death we have just recorded, by whom he left an only son and heir.³ And soon afterwards, about the Feast of St. John the Baptist, died Res, the only son of Maelgon Vychan, a young man of high promise, after taking the habit of religion at Strata Florida, and there he was buried, near his sister, in the Chapter House of the Monks.⁴

The same year there was a quarrel between the sons of Griffith ap Llewelyn, the Princes of North Wales. Owen Goch, the eldest brother, not enduring a rival in the government, induced David his younger brother to take part with him against Llewelyn. A battle ensued in which Llewelyn was victorious, his brother David fled, and Owen was taken prisoner; whereupon Llewelyn took possession of their territories, and from this time forward held an undivided sway in North Wales.

The obituary for this year records the death of

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion; Annales Cambriæ. ² Florence of Worcester. The Festivals of that period were deemed to commence at sunset of the previous day. St. John's night would thus be the night of December 26. ³ & ⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

Margaret, daughter of Maelgon, the wife of Owen ap Meredith, Lord of Kedewen, who died on the Saturday next before the Feast of St. Michael (Sept. 25, 1255), and was buried by the side of her brother, at Strata Florida.¹

In the following year, 1256, Prince Edward came into Wales to take a survey of his newly acquired castles and lands. The English Prince took no pains to conciliate the Welshmen over whom he now claimed jurisdiction, and whom he affected to treat as a conquered race. The tyranny and oppression which they endured at his hands and those of his Lieutenants, the alterations he effected in their ancient laws, and the cruel manner in which they were made to feel their galling yoke lashed the Welshmen into frenzy, and induced them to rise against their foreign oppressors. After Prince Edward had returned to England, and about the calends of August (July, 1256), the Welsh nobles repaired to Llewelyn ap Griffith and complained of the treatment they had received, how that they had many of them been deforced of their lands, "and if at anie time they did offend, they were punished with extremetie, but where they were wronged they found no remedie. Therefore they protested, before God and him, that they would rather die in the field in defense of their right than be made slaves by strangers: whereupon the Prince pitieing his own estate and theirs determined, together with them, utterly to refuse the rule of the Englishmen, and rather to die in libertie than to live in thraldome, shame, and approbie."² And so, by their incitement and advice, Llewelyn invaded the Midland country [now Denbighshire and Flintshire, which had been given to Prince Edward by the King] and subdued the whole of it before the end of the week, except the castles of Diganwy and Diserth. In this expedition he was accompanied by Meredith ap Res Grig, who had been kept out of his lands by the machinations of his English neighbours and his nephew Res Vychan.

Having thus completed his conquest of the Midland country, Llewelyn occupied the land of Merioneth, which

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*. In the Brut he is called Owen ap Robert (see note to page 127). In the same chronicle it is next recorded that the great bell of Strata Florida was bought for three score and thirty-seven marks and two kine; and it was immediately put up, and consecrated by the Bishop of Bangor. ² *Powel's History*.

he appropriated to himself.¹ And from thence marching Southwards he passed the night of the first Monday in Advent (Dec. 4) at Llampadarn Vawr, and the night following at Morvamaur. Here he was met by Meredith ap Owen, whose fealty he received and to whom he conceded those parts of Cardigan which had been usurped by Prince Edward, together with all the land of Buellt, of which he had taken forcible possession. Meredith ap Res was also reinstated by him in the lands of which he had been deprived, and Llewelyn further conferred upon him, with an hereditary title to their possession, the lands of his nephew Res Vychan, from which the latter was ejected.² The Prince concluded his campaign by wresting from Roger Mortimer the territory of Gwrthryneon, which he kept in his own hands, and prosperously returned home after Christmas Day.³

In the meantime Prince Edward, having failed to obtain assistance from the King, whose coffers were now empty, repaired to his uncle Richard, Earl of Cornwall, from whom he borrowed £4000 with the intention of punishing the presumption of the Welsh, and waging a war of extermination against them. But the winter of that year was so wet and stormy that the whole country of Wales, being without roads, was quite inaccessible to the English, and thus Edward's labour and expenditure of money were altogether in vain.⁴

The events of the next year (1257), during which the Welsh successfully maintained their independence and kept their enemies at bay, shall be told, for the most part, in the words of the Welsh Annalist, who records their exploits at some length.—

¹ Llewelyn ap Meredith, Lord of Merioneth (whom I take to have been the only son and heir of that Meredith ap Llewelyn, whose death is recorded as having occurred in the previous year), was at this time serving on the King's side, as was also his neighbour Griffith ap Madoc, Lord of Bromfield. Mr. Shirley the Editor of "Royal and other letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III," gives a letter, which was apparently written at this time, from Llewelyn ap Maredudd to the King, in which he prays the King to make some provision for him until he can recover his land of Meyronnid, from which he had been ejected by Llewelyn ap Griffith. His death is recorded in the Welsh Annals as having been slain at the battle of Clunow on April 27, 1263. ² & ³ *Annales Cambriae*. It is worthy of remark that the half-yearly allowance which Meredith ap Res had for many years been receiving from the Sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire was paid up to November 3, 1256; after which date no such entry occurs in the Sheriff's accounts. This gives an independent testimony to the date of the outbreak, which is spoken of by Matthew Paris as having occurred about All Saints' Day. ⁴ Matthew Paris.

“After the Feast of the Epiphany Llewelyn entered the territory of Griffith ap Wenwynwyn (the Lord of Upper Powis, who sided with the English at this period of the war), and taking up his quarters at Trallwng (Welshpool) he burned the town, having summoned to his assistance two of the Lords of South Wales, namely Meredith ap Owen and Meredith ap Res Grig. On the other side of the Severn were assembled many English Barons, namely John l’Estrange, Griffith ap Wenwynwyn, (Walter) Malefant, and many others, with the standard of Prince Edward and a large host of armed men. The English army now crossed the river and drew up in battle array on a great field between the Severn and Eberriw. The Welshmen seeing them prepared for action were greatly enraged and marched on to the plain with an innumerable force. And when the English perceived a strong Welsh army resolutely occupying the field they were seized with a sudden panic, and, without waiting to confront the enemy, they ignominiously fled to the town of Montgomery.” Here the Annalist records a disgraceful raid upon the Monks of Alba Domus by Stephen Bauzan and other English Knights on the Monday next after the Feast of the Purification, and then proceeds to inform us that “in the ensuing Lent Llewelyn came with a great army to the land of Kidwely, Carnwallaon, and Gower, where he burned all that belonged to the English in the aforesaid lands, as also in Abertawy, and having subjugated all the Welshmen thereof he joyfully returned home before Easter (which fell on April 8 in that year)..... In those days certain nobles of Cardigan, namely the two sons of Eineon, and William, and the two sons of William Goch, were killed by the Englishmen of Carmarthen at Oisterlof.”¹

It appears that Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll, on being ejected from his lands, repaired to the English and sought their aid to recover his lost possessions. The English readily availed themselves of this opportunity of prosecuting their own aims; and having raised an army which was commanded by Stephen Bauzan, they set forth under the guidance of Res Vychan, and passed the night

¹ *Annales Cambrie.*

of the Wednesday after Pentecost (May 30) at Carmarthen. From thence "they proceeded on the morrow with many accoutred horses and implements of war prepared to devastate the land of Stratewy; and having with some difficulty reached Llandeilo Vawr they there encamped for the night under no apprehension of evil. But Meredith ap Owen and Meredith ap Res Grig, the Lords of Cardigan and Stratewy, assembled with all their forces, and with great clamour surrounded the English in the woods and groves and dingles, and annoyed and harassed them, during the whole of the following day, with arrows and other weapons of offence. On the Saturday, namely on the Vigil of the Holy Trinity, being the 2nd of June (iv. *Nonas Junii*), Res ap Res Mechyll, who had conducted the English forces thither, deserted them in their perilous situation, and secretly fled to the castle of Dynevor with a few of his own retainers. The English knights, nothing daunted, defended themselves under their coats of mail (though such armour could no more protect them than woollen garments, seeing that they placed their trust in these rather than in God), and having held a council of war they boldly turned their steps towards Cardigan. The Welshmen now issued from the woods on every side and vigourously assailed them from the first hour of the day until noon. At Coeth Lathen the English lost all their provisions with their baggage horses and palfreys, to the great joy of their assailants. And about noon the Welshmen, having skirmished with the retreating enemy as far as Kemereu in Stratewy, rushed upon the English soldiers and manfully cut them down from their armed steeds, causing them to be trampled under the feet of the cavalry, infantry, and horses in the marshes, dikes, and trenches; so that more than 3000 Saxons fell in that day. Few, indeed, if any of the armed knights escaped from that battle, and the Welshmen, safe and unharmed, returned victoriously home with great spoils, including many caparisoned horses and much armour, for which they gave thanks to God."¹

We must always make some allowance for exaggeration in the numbers given as killed and wounded on these

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*. Sir Stephen Bauzan, Bazun, Bawson, Bawcen, Bacon, or Baſocis (for his name is thus variously spelt), who was slain at the battle of Kemereu,

occasions. Powel, who follows the Brut, places the English loss at upwards of 2000; and calls the engagement as "bloody a battle as ever was fought in Wales of so many men." We learn from the Brut that Res Vychan was seized by the garrison on reaching the castle of Dynevor.

On the day after the battle, being Trinity Sunday, there were slain of the English at Gower 194 men and six women.¹

After this the Welsh Princes marched to Dyvet and destroyed the castles of Abercoran, Llanstephan, Narberth, and Maenclochog, and set fire to the towns.²

I have some difficulty here in verifying the dates of the Brut, but I suppose it must have been during this series of successes on the part of the Welsh that some kind of reconciliation was effected between Meredith ap Res and his nephew Res Vychan, which is said to have taken place about the Feast of St. John the Baptist, after which they jointly attacked Trevdraeth (or Newport); and then, taking Meredith ap Owen along with them, they invaded Rhos, and burned all the country except Haverford. From thence they marched to Glamorgan, and after reducing and taking the castle of Llangeneu they returned home, having killed many and captured others. And then Maelgon Vychan died, and was buried in the chapter house of Strata Florida.³

This Maelgon (II) and his father had both of them been patrons and supporters of this Fraternity. Maelgon (I), as "*Mailgun fil. Resi principis South Wall.*," confirmed the donations of his father Res, the founder, by his charter dated 11 *Kl' Februarii* 1198; to which confirmation young Res ap Griffith, his nephew, was the first witness "*qui hanc donationem nostram sua donatione roboravit.*" The monks had already had a previous confirmation from Res ap Res (the brother of Maelgon) dated

was the son of Hugh de Baiocis, Lord of that Barony in the county of Lincoln, and brother and heir of John de Baiocis who died in 1248. Besides his lands in Wales he held of the King *in capite* lands in the counties of Lincoln, Dorset, and Northampton. Meyrick says that Sir Stephen Bawson had a grant of Brigan, in Llausannor, from Richard, Earl of Gloucester, and built a house there. He certainly held one and a half knight's fees in Hemingstrasse, co. Pembroke. After his death, in 1257, Agnes, his widow, had a lease from the King in that year, for a term of six years, of the vill and hundred of Wolton, co Oxon (Arch. Camb. 4th series, Vol. V. (Original documents)). In the Annals of Tewkesbury it is stated that the only two who survived this battle were Nicholas de St. Martin and Roger de Leybourne, of whom the former was taken prisoner.

¹ Annales Cambriæ. ² & ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

19 *Kl' Januarii* 1198; and with a commendable prudence they also obtained a similar charter from the young Lord Res in 1202, who as "*Resus filius Griffini filii Resi Magni*" confirms the donations of his father Griffith, and those of his grandfather Res and all his sons, to which deed his mother Matilda and others are witnesses. In the deed he states that he has confirmed this gift with the first seal that he has ever used, and that before this charter he had never given another to any man, neither had he had any seal before this with which he had confirmed this charter. The charter of Maelgon Junior, son of Maelgon ap Res is witnessed by the Lord Maelgon (his father) and Morgan ap Res.¹

Maelgon Vychan, the son of Maelgon ap Res, is said by the heralds to have married Angharad, daughter of Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, by his wife Joan, illegitimate daughter of King John.² He was succeeded in his possessions by his grandson Llewelyn ap Res ap Maelgon.³

The ravages of the Welsh had now become so serious as to rouse the King to a mighty effort for their repression. On July 18, 1257, he summons his military tenants to appear with horse and arms at Bristol on the octaves of St. Peter ad Vincula (Aug. 8), informing them that one part of his army would have to meet him at Chester and the other part to proceed from Bristol against the Welshmen of South Wales for the purpose of putting down the enemy in that quarter;⁴ and on August 6 we find the King himself at Chester, where he remained till the 18th. On the 23rd he was in camp at Rhuddlan, on the 25th at Abergele, on the 27th at Gannok, where he remained till the 4th of September, and on September 11 he was in camp at Disserth in Flintshire.⁵

This costly expedition, however, brought no honour to the English arms. During all this time the Welshmen of the North held their own against the King; and Henry disgusted with the campaign returned to Chester on the 12th of September, leaving the field to Llewelyn.

The army which had been despatched into South Wales, under the command of the Earl of Gloucester appears to have met with no better success; but the

¹ Harl. MS. 6068, fo. 10. ² Her. Vis. Wal., Vol. II, p. 99. ³ Inq. p.m. 7 Edw. I, No. 76. ⁴ Rymer's *Fædera*. ⁵ MS. Itin. Hen. III.

diplomacy of Henry's Ministers was more effective, for they succeeded in seducing Meredith ap Res from his Welsh allegiance. It is probable that Res Vychan, his nephew, who had been taken prisoner by the garrison of the castle of Dynevor, whither he had fled on the night before the battle of Kemereu, had since made his peace with Llewelyn, who may have allowed him to re-enter upon some of the lands of which he had been despoiled in the previous year in favour of his kinsman Meredith. Such an arrangement, though seemingly acquiesced in at the time, would have naturally been unacceptable to Meredith ap Res and probably produced a feeling of resentment against Llewelyn. At any rate we find him at this time in treaty with the English; and on October 18, 1257, he had a pardon conceded to him, by charter dated at Westminster, wherein the King promises that he will not receive to his peace either Llewelyn ap Griffith, or Meredith ap Owen, or Res junior, until Res ap Meredith shall have been first consulted with.¹

On the same day, for his faithful service, the King concedes to him the two commots of Mebeweniaun and Wenionith in Cardiganshire, which belonged to Meredith ap Owen.² By a second charter of the same date the King also concedes to Meredith ap Res all the land which he now holds, namely, Hyrhrin, and Matheyn with the castle also of Lanemdeyry (Llandovery), commot Pertieth, and Ikenn (Iscennen) with the castle of Droysleyn, Emelyn, and Estrelef, with the new castle, and Maynahur Lonsawil, and Maniaur inter Turth and Kothy, and the whole land of Kayo. He also concedes to him all the land of Res junior, namely Mabuderith, and Mabelneu (Mabelfed), and Meynaur Teylau (Manor Deilo), Ketheynauth (Cethinioc), and Meynaur filiorum Seysild (Widigadaf?) with the castles of Dinevor and Karrekemien (Carregcennen) with all their appurtenances for ever.³

Proposals for peace were now made by the Welsh Princes on the following terms, namely, that they should retain their own laws and customs, and pay a sum of money to the King and acknowledge his sovereignty, but

¹ Cal. Rot. Pat. 41 Hen. III, m. 1. Res ap Meredith was the name of the son of Meredith ap Res; but it is doubtful whether the name should not be read as Meredith ap Res, who would have been the party more immediately concerned. ² & ³ Rot. Chart. 41 Hen. III, m. 1.

that no allegiance should be due to Prince Edward. These proposals were rejected by the King; and hostilities were continued through the winter.¹

A contemporary writer describes the Marches of Wales at the beginning of the following year as being literally reduced to a desert.² It would seem that Meredith ap Res kept his own counsel with respect to his dealings with the English, and that he was at this time acting a double part; for on March 8, 1258, was formed the famous convention between the magnates of Scotland and Wales, by which they all bound themselves, under the most solemn vows, never to forsake one another or to make their peace with the King of England unless by mutual consent; and to this compact "Maredud fil. Res" was a party as well as his relations "Maredud fil. Ovens" and "Res Junior."³ But oaths appear to have imposed but little restraint upon this fickle chieftain. Meredith ap Res was the first to desert the confederacy, and before the close of the same year we find him employed on behalf of the English as a commissioner to settle terms of peace with the Welsh.

In the meantime both Welsh and English took every opportunity that occurred of annoying and harassing each other. On the Monday after the Octaves of Easter (April 1, 1258), the Englishmen of Pembroke and Ros had the temerity to enter Kemmaes from whence they took a great booty and slew there two Welsh nobles, namely William Techo and Henry Goch (or Goch). Whereupon the men of Kemmaes and Plumauc surrounded the English with great noise, and having strenuously attacked them compelled them to retire with the loss of many lives and much spoil. Henry Wingan, the constable of Narberth, and the son of Philip de Brut (le Bret?) were among those who were slain on this occasion.⁴ Soon after this time Meredith ap Res Grig did homage and fealty to the King,—thus openly repudiating his allegiance to Llewelyn.

The defection of Meredith was deeply resented by the Welsh Princes. Llewelyn and the Lords of South Wales immediately repaired to Istradtywi and reduced all his

¹ Warrington's Hist. ² Matthew Paris. ³ Rym. Fœd. ⁴ Annales Cambriae.

lands to subjection with the exception of the castles. After which they encamped at Kidwelly, and when they had set fire to all the houses but the castle they were surprised by Meredith ap Res and the Lord Patric (de Chaworth) who suddenly came down upon them with a body of Englishmen from Carmarthen. A vigorous battle took place, in which several were killed and wounded on either side, and Meredith received a severe wound near to the Bridge. The Welshmen were eventually victorious, and Meredith and his English allies were constrained to make their escape to Carmarthen, leaving their killed and wounded behind them. Amongst those who were slain on the Welsh side was David ap Howel, a nobleman of Arustli, who was honourably interred at Strata Florida.¹

The time was now come when the English Barons deemed it necessary to make open resistance to the King and his foreign favourites; and the supposition that the Barons were in secret league with the Welsh is strengthened by the circumstance that the latter now made eager proposals for peace. It may be observed that their ravages had been for the most part restricted to the lands and possessions of Prince Edward and some of the Lords Marchers who were zealous Royalists. In the spring of 1258 Henry again summoned his Barons to attend him into Wales. They answered with complaints of the fatigues and losses which they had already sustained in this service; yet after a brief and stormy meeting at Westminster they all came in warlike array to the Parliament held at Oxford in July, with the excuse that they must necessarily be in readiness to march against the Welsh. This Parliament may be considered as the proclamation of war on the part of the Barons. The messengers of Prince Llewelyn were conducted to it by Peter de Montfort, and a truce for one year was concluded on the 17th July.²

In order to confirm or enlarge this truce, or to conclude a peace on a more solid basis, Prince Edward sent Patric de Chaworth, the King's Seneschal at Carmarthen (to whom the Lordship of Kidwelly had been confirmed by the King, provided that he could win it and keep it for

¹ *Annales Cambriæ.* ² *Wright's History of Ludlow.*

himself), and with him Meredith ap Res, to treat with the Welsh commissioners at Emlyn.¹

According to Powel, who refers to Matthew Paris as his authority, Llewelyn, "meaning good faith, sent his brother David, with Meredith ap Owen and Res ap Res, to entreat with them of peace, but Patric, meaning to entrap them, laid an ambushment of armed men by the waie, and as they should have met, these men fell upon the Welshmen and slew a great number of them;" but the Lords who escaped raised the country forthwith and amply revenged themselves upon the perpetrators of this treacherous deed.

We learn from the Welsh Annals that David ap Griffith, with a few followers from North Wales, and Meredith ap Owen and Res ap Res Mechyll, with a considerable army, having encamped for two nights at Maynour (Maynor inter Turth and Cothy?), pitched their camp on the following night, being the Wednesday next before the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (Sept. 4), near to Kilgerran. On the same day Meredith ap Res Grig, and Patric, the King's Seneschal, with a large army from Kidwelly, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Ros and Kemmaes, mustered at Cardigan in all their pride. In the afternoon the English army marched to Kilgerran in battle array, and near to the town of Kilgerran a fierce engagement took place, in which the English were routed and fled, leaving their slain, with many caparisoned horses, behind them. In that battle the Lord Patric de Chaworth, Walter Malefant, a stout and valiant knight from Pembroke, and other knights who had lately arrived from England, were slain; and Meredith, whose infidelity had troubled all Wales, barely escaped with his English allies to Kilgerran castle.²

¹ Powel's History. ² *Annales Cambriae*. The writ for the inquest after the death of Patric de Chaworth was issued on September 23, 1258 (Inq. p.m. 42 Hen. III, No. 26). Patric de Chaworth, Chaurtes, Chaureis or Cadurcis was the son of Pain de Chaworth. In 23 Hen. III, being then under age, he compounded with the King for his own wardship and marriage, for which he paid £500. On Dec. 19, 28 Hen. III, with Hawis his wife, he was fined 100 marks to the King for seizin of the land of Kidwelly, which was of the inheritance of Hawis his wife (*Excerpta e Rot. Fin.*). In 29 Hen. III he received a precept from the crown to use all his power and diligence in annoying the Welsh, who were then in hostility to the King. His wife Hawis was the daughter and heiress of Thomas de Londres, Lord of Kidwelly and Ogmores. He was succeeded by his son Pain de Chaworth, who was 14 years of age at the time of his father's death (Inq. p.m. 42 Hen. III, No. 26). Pain died, without issue, in 1278, and was succeeded by his brother Patric de Chaworth, who died in 1282, leaving an only daughter and heiress, Maud, wife of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, to whom she brought the Lordship of Kidwelly.

In the spring of the year 1259 the Welsh magnates were summoned by Llewelyn to a Parliament at Arustly, and there, on the Wednesday next before the Feast of Pentecost (May 28), Meredith ap Res was convicted of treason, and, being taken by Llewelyn, was imprisoned at Crukeid (Criccieth) until the following Christmas. He was then liberated on giving up his eldest son as a hostage and surrendering his two castles, namely that of Dynevor and the new castle, with the two adjacent provinces.¹

It would seem that Meredith ap Owen, at this time, conceded to Llewelyn his right to the Lordship of Buellt,² which had been made over to him in 1256; and henceforward this territory became a constant bone of contention between Llewelyn and Roger Mortimer. On June 11, 1259, Mortimer was appointed one of the commissioners to demand satisfaction from Llewelyn for breaches of the truce, with power to prolong the truce and to treat with him of peace. A truce for one year was accordingly concluded, which was ratified by the commissioners at the Ford of Montgomery on June 25.³ This truce was renewed at Oxford in the Spring of the following year, 1260;⁴ but it was quickly broken by Llewelyn, who re-occupied the territory of Buellt, with the exception of the castle; and the castle itself was subsequently sold to Llewelyn's retainers by the English garrison, on July 17, during Mortimer's absence in London,⁵ and afterwards razed to the ground by Res Vychan and the men of South Wales.⁶

In order to punish Llewelyn for his temerity, an army was raised to act against the Welsh, of which the command was taken by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester; but owing to the lateness of the season, or some other cause which made it inadvisable to proceed against Llewelyn at that time, an extension of the truce for two years was concluded, at the Ford of Montgomery, on the octaves of the Assumption (Aug. 22) 1260, to last from that date until the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist (June 24) 1262; by which it was stipulated that each party should retain possession of their estates, vassals, and castles.⁷

¹ & ² *Annales Cambriæ*. The words "eldest son" would seem to imply that Meredith ap Res had more than one son at this time, but we never hear of any other son than Res ap Meredith even in the *Heraldic Pedigrees* which are usually exuberant in such respects. ³ Warrington's *Hist.*; Eyton's *Ant. of Shropshire*, Vol. IV., p. 218. ⁴ Rymer's *Fœdera*. ⁵ *Ant. Shropshire*, Vol. IV., p. 219. ⁶ *Annales Cambriæ*. ⁷ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

“The ensuing year (1261) died Gladys, daughter of Griffith ap Llewelyn, the wife of the Lord Res ap Res Mechyll.”¹

On July 19, 1262, the King crossed over to France, and a few days afterwards, namely on July 22, he writes from Amiens to Philip Basset, Justiciary of England, to say that a rumour of the death of Llewelyn has reached him, and, although he has not been assured of the certainty of this, he encloses letters to Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, Roger Mortimer, Reginald fitz Peter, John l'Estrange, John fitz Alan, Thomas Corbet, Griffin fitz Wenunwen, and others, which Basset is instructed to forward in the event of the rumour proving true.

The instructions contained in these letters were as follows, namely, that since Llewelyn himself was not the rightful heir of Wales so neither could David his younger brother be, because their elder brother (Owen) was still alive. Hence David could have no claim to the land of Wales, and the homage of the Nobles of Wales devolved, of ancient right, upon the King. They were therefore to take counsel among themselves, their friends, and fellow-marchers, for the purpose of depriving David of his pretended rule, and transferring it to the King. He further informs his Justiciary that he has also written to Meredith ap Res commanding him not to enter into alliance or friendship with David from South Wales, unless the said David should come to the King's peace.² This seems to imply that Meredith ap Res was at that time held to be loyal to the King.

It is needless to say that the report of Llewelyn's death was unfounded.

On August 4 of the same year the King writes to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Roger, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, James de Audley and others, informing them that Llewelyn had complained of the breaches of the truce by Roger de Mortimer, John l'Estrange, and others, and enjoining them to meet Llewelyn, or those whom he should send to confer with them, at the Ford of Montgomery, on the morrow of St.

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Rymer's Fædera.

Michael (Sept. 30), for the purpose of adjusting the differences between them.¹

About this time Humphrey de Bohun writes to Walter de Merton, the King's Chancellor assuring him that the lands of the late Earl of Gloucester were as yet in peace and quietness, and that he had caused his castles in South Wales to be victualled.²

It will be seen that this tranquility in the South did not last much longer; for we have a letter from Peter de Montfort, to whom the custody of the castle of Bergaveny was committed to Roger le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and others—written in Norman French and apparently indited on October 2, 1262,³—which gives a very different account of the state of affairs on the borders.

“To the noble brothers and his very dear lords and friends (as nobles freres e a ses tres chers seigneours e amis), my lord Roger le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, my lord Philip Basset, Justiciar of England, Sir John Mauncel and Robert Waleraund, Peter de Montfort health and all honour.

Know that the Thursday next after the F. of St. Matthew the Apostle (Sept. 28) Wienoch ap Edenavet, Llewelyn's Seneschal, Meredut ap Res, Res Vuchan, and Meredut ap Owein, with all the pride of Wales, save the person of Llewelyn and his brother, and with a very great host from the South, went to the land of Went (Gwent) of my lord the King and of my lord Edward, which is in my keeping, to pillage and destroy; and We with our people and the aid of friends from the neighbouring lands, of which I defended the waters of Esk-Water the two days until the Saturday about noon; and then came my lord John de Grey, Sir Roger de Mortemer, my lord Renald fitz Peter, and my lord Humphrey de Boun, and I led them to a guard-house above the town of Bergaveny, where we crossed to encounter these Welshmen, who had already burnt a part of the land of Bergaveny below Bloreis; and when they saw us approach them, they dismounted their horses and fled across the mountain of Bloreis, in a place which is by no means suitable for men on horseback to pass. And since we saw well that we could never reach them, we turned along the valley to their plunderers and foragers, who were there in great numbers, so that there perished, God be praised, in the day, between killed and taken, more than three hundred. And still on the Monday following, when this letter was written, there was the greater

¹ Royal and other historical letters temp. Hen. III. ² Ibid. This referred to Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who had been poisoned in the previous June or July at the house of Peter de Savoy, the Queen's uncle. ³ This letter and that which follows it in the text are by Rymer attributed to the year 1256, and are placed by him among the *fœdera* of that year; but Mr. Shirley, the Editor of Royal and other letters illustrative of the reign of King Henry III, more correctly places them in the year 1262, conclusively shewing that the mention of Philip Basset as Justiciar, in itself limits the date to the years 1261, 1262. It might moreover be shewn that Meredith ap Res, who is engaged in this expedition on the side of the Welsh, was in the King's service and receiving his pay till November 1256; neither, I am assured, would Peter de Montfort have been eligible for so important a post at the earlier date.

part of them, both on foot and on horseback scattered over the monasteries of the country and the moors everywhere, and men are searching them out constantly. And know, fair lords, that now and heretofore full five times we have met there and kept all at our cost as many as three thousand and four thousand at one time of men on foot, and as many as eighty horses mounted, to guard and defend the men of the King and my lord Edward. Wherefore I pray and request you, fair lords, since you are of the council of our lord the King, that you will tender counsel to the King and the Queen and my lord Edward, or one of them, that these expenses be repaid to me, and that counsel be taken how the land is to be defended henceforth; for know assuredly, that if counsel be not taken thereon, it behoves me to leave my castle furnished and go away, and leave the land to make terms and perish; for if all the land was in good peace and were it all mine, besides the three lands which I have, I should not have power to maintain the great expense which I have on it. And know that if they descend another time, as I know well that they will do before long in very great force to revenge themselves . . . , and if they are not stopped, they will destroy all the land of our lord the King as far as the Severne and W. . . . and they ask nothing but to have the land of Went. Farewell in God.”¹

In another letter from Peter de Montfort to the King, which was probably written in December of that year and intended to meet the King on his landing from France (where he had been since July 19), he says, that when he reached the castle of Bergaveny he found the whole March greatly disturbed; the Welshmen had burned a certain village pertaining to Bergaveny called St. Michael's, with the barns and stores of grain, and inflicted other losses on him and his men. Moreover all the men of the Welsh tongue belonging to the lords Humphrey de Bohun, Reginald fitz Peter, and many other Magnates of the Marches, and in short the whole of Walescheria even to the borders of Bergaveny had gone over to Llewelyn; so that the quarters (*marchia*) of Llewelyn's men were not above a league and a half distant from the castle of Bergaveny. He complains of want of means to carry on the war, and says that he is unable to hold his own without further help, for that there is no other noble of that country left there except Gilbert Talbot, who still holds three of Prince Edward's castles in those parts; and concludes by intimating that unless the needful assistance is forthcoming the men of Bergaveny will go over to Llewelyn.²

The English must have been hard pressed in South

¹ & ² Royal and other letters *temp.* Hen. III.

Wales at this time, for before the close of December, the Bishop of Hereford, one of the King's foreign favourites, wrote in haste to the King to inform him that Hereford itself was in danger, unless the garrison were strengthened.¹

In the meantime Llewelyn himself had been equally busy in the North. Towards the close of September he complains to the King of the breaches of the truce by Roger Mortimer and other English Barons;² as he did also in December, after the King's return to England on December 20;³ and in a letter of about the same date he repudiates the charge which Roger Mortimer had made against him, of having broken the peace himself.⁴ But wherever the fault lay Llewelyn seems to have fully held his own against Mortimer at this period. He took the homage of the men of Melenith and, having ravaged the country as far as Wigmore and taken possession of two of Roger Mortimer's castles (from one of which he allowed Mortimer to retire), he received the homage of the men of Brecknock and thence returned to Gwyneth.

During the two preceding years the King's disputes with his Barons had prevented him from taking decisive measures against the Welsh, and towards the close of the year, while the King was yet in France, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who headed the baronial faction, will have greatly strengthened the hands of the Welsh Prince, thus laying the basement of that confederacy which long afterwards subsisted between them.⁵

On February 1, 1263, the King informs Humphrey de Bohun that he has sent John de Grey to Hereford to supersede him in the command of his army in South Wales. He writes also to Reginald fitz Peter, Humphrey de Bohun, Peter de Montfort, and Gilbert Talbot, whom he had ordered to be at Hereford on the Monday next after the Feast of the Purification (Feb. 5), to let them know that he had sent John de Grey to take command of the army, and to appease the dissensions that had arisen between them. Roger Mortimer, John fitz Alan, Thomas Corbet, and other Lords Marchers were summoned to Ludlow on the octaves of the Purification (Feb. 9).

Of the actual hostilities in South Wales we hear but

¹ Wright's Ludlow; Rymer's *Fædera*. 2, 3 & 4 Royal and other letters *temp.* Hen. III. ⁵ Warrington's History.

little at this time; but Prince Edward himself took command of the army in North Wales. About April he invaded the territories of Llewelyn, who, after a severe contest, was forced to retire to the heights of Snowdon; and Edward was soon afterwards suddenly recalled to England to assist his father against the English Barons.

The revolt of the Barons had now reached its height, and Llewelyn, who was joined by the two sons of De Montfort, was enabled to renew his victorious attacks upon the English Marches.

Reprisals were made by Prince Edward, who took the castles of Hay and Brecknock, which he committed to the custody of Sir Roger Mortimer. After this the operations on both sides were suddenly interrupted by a truce; during which a treaty for peace was to be negotiated between the King and his Barons, in the presence of the French Ambassador. In this treaty a remission of offences was made, in which Llewelyn and probably the other Welsh Princes were included as confederates of Simon de Montfort. This truce however was of but short duration and brought about no real peace.

The chances of war at the battle of Lewes, which was fought on May 14, 1264, threw the King and Prince Edward into the hands of De Montfort as prisoners; and he and Llewelyn continued their successes during the following year until the Lords Marchers submitted themselves to De Montfort and made their peace with him by agreeing to surrender their estates and their castles and to leave the kingdom for one year.

On May 28, 1265, however, being the Thursday in Whitsun week, Prince Edward effected his escape from Hereford.¹ He was immediately joined by the Lords Marchers, who soon recovered their castles, and made themselves masters of all the country between Hereford and Chester.

Llewelyn and the Welsh Princes were at this time in treaty with the Earl of Leicester for a more durable peace. By his letters patent dated from the camp at Pyperton on the Day of Saints Gervasius and Prothasius (June 19, 1265), the Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon,

¹ Rymer's *Fædera*.

by and with the advice and consent of his Magnates,—in consideration of the King's remission of all the rancour which he has conceived against the said Prince, his Magnates, and allies, on account of all that they have done against him in time past, and for his concession of certain of their castles, lordships, liberties, and other rights which are more fully enumerated in the letters appended to this convention,—binds himself to pay to the King a sum of 30,000 marks, to be paid by yearly instalments of 3000 marks. He further acknowledges that he holds his principality and all his other possessions of the King, and promises to render for them, to the King and his heirs, such services as his predecessors have rendered, or ought to have rendered, to the King and his ancestors. Moreover Llewelyn and his Magnates pledge themselves to observe and maintain the ordinance lately set forth in London, and sealed with the King's seal and those of many prelates of the realm, concerning the liberation of Prince Edward. To this convention are set the seals of Llewelyn himself and those of the following Welsh Magnates, namely, Griffin son of Wenunwen, Griffin son of Madoc, Howel and Madoc his brothers, Res Vychan, Howel son of Maredut, Howel son of Res, Goron son of Etdenavet, Howen son of Blethyin, and many others.¹

But the events of the next few days, in which Prince Edward and his loyal adherents were making rapid advances against De Montfort and cutting off his needful supplies, rendered the support of the Welsh Prince of still greater importance to De Montfort; and Llewelyn, taking advantage of the occasion, now demanded, as the price of his protection and assistance, no less than a full restitution to the inheritance and dignity of his ancestors. Accordingly, by letters patent, dated at Hereford on June 22, 1265, the captive King is made to "remit his anger" against the British Prince, whom he distinctly terms "Prince of Wales;" wills that all "literal obligations" which the said Prince, or David his predecessor, may have made to the King against their rights and liberties be annulled; grants to the Prince of Wales the "lordship" of all the great men of Wales, with the

¹ Royal and other letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III.

“principality ;” also castle Matilda, the hundred of Ellesmere, the castle of Hawardin, and that of Montgomery when it shall have been conquered from the enemies of the King and Llewelyn (to which the King promises his assistance). The lordship of Wytinton Castle is also to be made over to him, so that the heir of the said castle shall do to the Prince the service which his ancestors have been accustomed to perform and ought to have performed to the predecessors of the said Prince.¹

The battle of Evesham, fought on August 4, 1265, and the death of De Montfort, completely altered the state of affairs. The King now declared the letters and concessions, which had been issued by De Montfort, under the King's name and seal, to be null and void. The Barons laid down their arms and submitted themselves to the King ; and Henry turned his forces against Llewelyn with the intention of chastising him for his late presumption ; but Llewelyn appeased him by a timely submission, and, through the mediation of Ottobonus the Pope's Legate, a peace was agreed to, which was by no means unfavourable to Llewelyn and the Welsh. According to the terms of this treaty which was agreed to at Montgomery on September 29 and finally concluded on the Feast of Pope Calixtus² (October 14, 1267), all offences and injuries were mutually forgiven, and, amongst other things, it was stipulated that Llewelyn and his vassals should restore to the King and his tenants all the lands, &c., which they had taken from them during the late war, except the lands of Brecon and Wercrenon (Werthryneon) which should remain to Llewelyn and his people ; but that as to all such lands, whether they were given up by Llewelyn or retained by him, justice should afterwards be done according to the laws and customs of those parts ; that Llewelyn and his heirs should be styled Princes of Wales, and that they should “receive the fealty and homage of all the Barons of Wales, of the Welsh (blood), so that the said Barons should hold their lands *in capite* of the said Prince and his heirs ; except the homage of the nobleman Mereduc son of Res, whose homage and vassalage the King reserves to himself and his heirs, together with his whole land, which the same Prince

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*. ² Brut-y-Tywysogion.

shall restore to him and cause to be restored by his people immediately; with respect to which lands those claiming any right therein may have justice done to them afterwards, as is customary, by their peers. And whensoever it shall please the King to concede to the said Prince the homage of the said Mareduc, the said Prince shall give and pay to the said King and his heirs a sum of 5000 marks."¹ In thus reserving the homage and vassalage of Meredith ap Res, the King virtually reserved authority over a great part of the lands of Cardigan and Carmarthen, for most of them had, at one time or other, been nominally granted to either Prince Edward or Meredith ap Res; and by this treaty those who were then in possession would have to establish their rights in the King's courts as soon as his power should be actually acknowledged in those parts. The homage and vassalage of the said Meredith ap Res were subsequently purchased by Llewelyn in the course of a few years, for the stipulated sum of 5000 marks, and conceded to him by the King's letters patent dated at Merlebergh, on August 30, 1270.²

In the meantime Meredith ap Res had, once more, been taken into the pay of the King, who, by his letters patent in the year 1265-6, had conceded to him a pension of £100 for his life.³

During the continuance of this war Llewelyn ap Res ap Maelgon died on the octave of the Epiphany,⁴ apparently in the year 1264; and was succeeded by his brother Res.⁵

And in 1265, in "the month of March, Meredith ap Owen, the defender of all South Wales and counsellor of all Wales, died at Llanbadarn Vawr, and was buried in the Chapter House of the Monks at Strata Florida."⁶ From the accession of Llewelyn ap Griffith as sole Prince of North Wales this Meredith had been consistently true to the cause of his country's freedom; and with him may be said to have ended the independence of his family. His country was finally subjugated during the succeeding reign of Edward I, and his sons and their issue either forfeited their estates for rebellion or became

¹ Rym. Fæd. ² Cal. Rot. Pat., 50 Hen. III, m. 3. ³ Cal. Rot. Pat., 54 Hen. III, m. 5. ⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁵ Inq. p.m., 7 Edw. I, No. 76. ⁶ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

petty vassals of the English crown. By the name of "Dominus Maered' filius Oweyn" he made donations to the Abbey of Strata Florida, which were confirmed by charter, without date, of his son Conan.¹

I cannot say positively who was the wife of Meredith; but we know that her name was Elena and that he assigned her her dower in the commot of Gwynnionith. The heralds call her Eleanor daughter of Maelgon Vychan ap Maelgon ap Lord Res, by his wife Angharad, daughter of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, Prince of North Wales.

In speaking of this period Mr. Wright, in his history of Ludlow, wisely remarks that, while the fatal conflict at Evesham closes a distinctly marked period of English history, its effect on the history of Wales was still more remarkable. Since the reign of William the Conqueror the Welsh had enjoyed a precarious independence, which was equally useless and equally injurious to both parties, English as well as Welsh. Wales, as the smaller power, lived only by the internal quarrels of the greater. When the power of the English Barons was broken, the fate of Wales was decided. From the time of the Norman conquest to the battle of Evesham, Wales had an historical importance which probably it had never had before. But in that battle its importance was lost. It made a fruitless struggle in the following reign, which ended in the extinction of its native Princes.

We cannot help admiring the gallantry of this comparatively insignificant people which enabled them, even under the most favourable circumstances, to hold their own so long against their powerful neighbours.

¹ Harl. MS., 6068.

CHAPTER X.

In the absence of any inquisition *post mortem* it is not easy to ascertain clearly what lands were held by Meredith ap Owen at the time of his death; but the greater part of Cardigan was certainly then in his hands. His territory was divided between his sons Owen, Griffith and Cynan (or Canan), and the lands which they inherited would have been generally confirmed to them by the treaty of peace which was made between the King (or rather the Earl of Leicester) and Llewelyn on June 22, 1265, within a few months of the time of their father's death. Under this treaty their homage would have been conceded to Llewelyn; and it was probably at this time that Llewelyn ap Griffith, of his own spontaneous will, deforced them of the commots of Geneurglyn, Crewthyn and Perveth, which he gave to Res the son of Res ap Maelgon, as we learn from the evidence of one of the witnesses who were summoned before the Royal commission at Lampadarn Vawr on February 5, 1282.¹

After the conclusion of the more effective peace which was finally agreed upon in October 1267, we find the King sending his commissioners into Wales for the purpose of hearing and determining all disputes concerning the tenure of lands and other grievances.² I assume that the result of these commissions, with respect to the land of Cardigan, would have been to vest the castles of Cardigan and Aberystwith, together with the respective lordships attached to them, in the hands of Prince Edward, who seems to have also claimed and entered upon the commots of Anhunog, Perveth and Crewthyn, as appurtenances of his castle of Cardigan.³

We learn from the Plea-Rolls of a later date that the comot of Mevenyth was likewise held to have been forfeited by Meredith ap Owen,⁴ though I doubt if it was

¹ *Certificatio et aprisa capte apud Lamperder Vawr die Mercurii proximo post festum Purificationis Beate Virginis (Feb. 5)*; Rot. Wall. 9. Edw. I. ² Rymer's *Fœdera*.

³ Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. I, No. 84. ⁴ *Abbreviatio Placitorum* pp. 227, 284, (Hil. Term.) 19 Edw. I.

ever actually in the King's hands until many years after the death of Meredith ap Owen. Hence it would seem that only the Southern commots of Iscoed Uchirwern, Gwynnionith, Mabwynneon, Caerwedros and Pennarth were absolutely conceded to the sons of Meredith ap Owen and acknowledged as their right, and only that of Geneurglyn to Res ap Res ap Maelgon.

Such a dismemberment of their ancient patrimony was not likely to be satisfactory to the Lords of South Wales; and when, in 1270, Prince Edward engaged in a crusade to the Holy Land, we find them taking advantage of his absence to rectify their grievances and recover their possessions for themselves. We are told that Griffith and Owen, the sons of Meredith, and Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, recovered to themselves the commots of Anhunog, Perveth, and Orasson (or Crewthyn).

In that year there was a general interruption of the peace; and in the month of October Llewelyn ap Griffith possessed himself of the castle of Caerphili.¹ Moreover on October 16 the King writes to Llewelyn ap Griffith, who is now allowed the title of Prince of Wales, concerning peace. He informs him that Gilbert de Clare, who is deputed by the King to meet Llewelyn, has intimated to the King that a certain Mereducus Resy, his lawful vassal, had receded from his homage, and placed himself, contrary to the fealty and homage which he owed the King, under the power of the said Llewelyn, and purposed to besiege the castle, which he held of the said Earl and not of Llewelyn.² These differences and disturbances appear to have been amicably settled. "And in the ensuing year, the sixth day after August" (? of the kalends of August, that is July 27, 1271) "died Meredith ap Res Grig, in the castle at Dryslwyn, and was buried at Whitland in the great church, on [under?] the steps in front of the high altar. At the end of three weeks afterwards, on the octave of the Feast of St. Lawrence (August 17), Res Vychan, the son of Res Mechyll ap Res Grig, died in the castle of Dynevor, and was buried at Tal y Lychau."³

King Henry III died on November 16, 1272. Prince Edward was then abroad, and did not return to England

1 & 3 Brut-y-Tywysogion. 2 Rym. Fæd.

until the summer of 1274. He landed at Dover on August 2, and was crowned at Westminster on Sunday after the Feast of the Assumption (August 19, 1274). The King of Scotland had already done homage to Edward upon his arrival in England. Prince Llewelyn was also summoned to do homage at Shrewsbury after the King's coronation; but he refused to attend unless hostages were given for the safety of his person; nor could he be prevailed upon to alter his determination.

It has been already stated that, in or about the year 1270, the sons of Meredith ap Owen and Res ap Maelgon recovered their lands from the English; and in 1273 "Owen ap Mereduc ap Owen" granted in frank marriage to his wife "Agaretfil. Owen" the commot of "Annunaut."¹ In the same year we are told that "Owen and Griffith, the sons of Meredith ap Owen, restored the middle commot to their brother Cynan, about Candlemas day;"² that is, the commot Perveth. And in the following year, 1274, "there was an exchange of commots between Cynan ap Meredith ap Owen and young Res [the son of Res ap Maelgon]; and thus Pennarth came to Cynan, and the middle commot to Res Vychan."³

It is probable that some general readjustment of lands between the Lords of South Wales took place at this time, under which Anhunog was retained by Owen, Mevenyth by Griffith, and Pennarth by Cynan, while Res Vychan will have had the cantrev Penwedie containing the commots of Geneurglyn, Crewthyn; and Perveth (or the middle commot).

In this same year, namely on April 15, 1274, William de Beauchamp, Roger de Clifford, The Prior of St. Thomas' Extra Stafford, William Bagod and Odo de Hodenet, were commissioned to take cognizance of all wrongs and injuries which had been perpetrated in all parts of the Marches of Wales contrary to the form of peace between the late King and Llewelyn.⁴ This commission apparently led to more general measures; and in the following year, 1275, "a little before Ascension Thursday, King Edward appointed a council in London; and then he established new institutions over the whole Kingdom."⁵ The

¹ Report of Deputy Keeper of Records, Appendix No. 2, pp. 22, 39, & seq.
² & ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁴ Rymer's Fœdera. ⁵ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

mention of this by the Welsh Chronicler implies that these institutions affected the Principality of Wales; and accordingly we find that in that year, on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, 3 Edw. I (i.e. June 29, 1275), an extent of the Manor of Cardigan was taken before Howel ap Meur' and Henry de Bray, when the jury found that King Edward, during the reign of King Henry his father and in time of peace, was seized of three commots, namely Annemok[Anhunog]commot-pervet[Perveth]and Orasson [Crewthyn] belonging to the castle (or Honour) of Cardigan,¹ and that he had delivered them oftentimes to farm for £80 *per annum* until Griffin and Owen, the sons of Meredith ap Owen, and Resius Vathan son of Res ap Maylgon had deforced him by war, which same persons were still seized of the aforesaid three commots, namely Griffin and Owen of Anhunok and commot-pervet, and Resius Wathan of Oresson.² It would seem from this inquest that there had been a second exchange of territory, in 1274-5, between the Lords of South Wales, and that the commot of Perveth, which Res Vychan had received from Cynan in 1274, had been subsequently given up to Owen and Griffith, in consideration perhaps of his being allowed to keep Orasson (or Crewthyn) to himself. We are not directly informed of the immediate result of the "Extent" of Cardigan; but from what follows it would seem that the Welsh Lords were not at that time ejected from their recovered possessions. Owen ap Meredith ap Owen died shortly afterwards, namely on August 15, 1275, and was buried near his father in the chapter house at Strata Florida.³ It was found at an inquest held many years later, namely in October, 1328, that he died seized of this commot of Hanunyauk, which he held of the King by the Welsh law, and that he died seized of it in time of peace, as well as of a moiety of the commot of Gwynneonyth Uchkerdyn and of the whole commot of Kerwedros, besides (or except) one Westua called Drefreyr.⁴ The commot of Anhunog, however, appears to have been forcibly taken into the King's hands by Pain de Chaworth in 1277, during the minority of his

¹ The first mention that I meet with of the Honour of Cardigan was in King John's charter to Res ap Griffith in 1212. ² Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. I, No. 84. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁴ Inq. 2 Edw. III, 1 Nrs. No. 47.

infant son Llewelyn ap Owen, on account of the rebellion of his uncles Griffith and Canan, and was never afterwards restored to either Llewelyn or his children, although it was shown, by repeated inquests to have been their lawful inheritance. It has been already stated that Owen ap Meredith, in 1273, granted in frank marriage to his wife Angharad the daughter of Owen the commot of Anhunog.¹ At the conclusion of the war which followed Owen's death his widow petitioned for her dower, and on January 4, 1278, the King issued his writ to enquire into her claims in the following terms, "The King to the venerable father G[odfrey] Bishop of Worcester, and his associates, the Justices appointed for the purpose of hearing and determining the complaints, transgressions and inroads made in the Marches of Wales and adjacent parts, greeting. Whereas Angarad who was wife of Owen son of Maraduc ap Owyen claims to have a right in the commot of Anhunaut within the land of Kardigan as that which the aforesaid Owen had assigned to her in dower, as she says, and which is now in our hands, we enjoin you to make full enquiry into the truth of the matter, and cause proper justice to be done to the same Angarad according to the form of peace and according to the law and custom of the aforesaid parts, saving our own rights, if we should have any in the aforesaid commot. Witness the King at the Tower of London on the 4th day of January."² I am unable to say whether or not she succeeded in recovering any part of her dower; but as to this commot of Anhunog it is certain that the King kept a fast hold upon it from this time forward, and never afterwards allowed it to fall back into the hands of its rightful owners. The claim which he had formerly preferred to it in the lifetime of his father would probably have served as a pretext for retaining it in his own hands. Angharad (or Anchoret) the wife of Owen ap Meredith is said to have been the daughter of Owen ap Meredith ap Robert, Lord of Cedewen;³ and by her he had a son Llewelyn, who was but an infant at the time of his father's death.

In the meantime the war had broken out again. After

¹ Report of Deputy keeper of Records, Appendix No. 2, pp. 2239 & seq. ² Rot. Wall., 6-9 Edw. I, m. 12 *in dorso*. de a^o sexto. ³ Her. Vis. Wal., Vol. II, p. 53.

the death of Owen ap Meredith, which took place in August 1275, Edward, who had been previously engaged in making laws and correcting abuses, repaired to Chester in the September of that year, and again summoned Llewelyn ap Griffith to do homage for his lands. But Llewelyn called together the Barons of Wales, who counselled him to refuse compliance with the summons, because the King had broken the terms of peace and harboured many of the Prince's enemies, especially his brother David and the Lord of Powis who had purposed his destruction. At this time Llewelyn justified his conduct in a letter addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops assembled in convocation at London, and dated at Talybont on October 6, 1275.¹

Early in the following year, 1276, the capture of Eleanor de Montfort by some English ships, while she was on her way from France to be married to Llewelyn, and her subsequent detention at the court of the English King, further exasperated the Welsh Prince and endangered the continuance of peace.

Negotiations were carried on throughout the summer, but the Prince's terms were finally rejected in November; Llewelyn was pronounced to be a rebel, and it was agreed that he should be treated as such. The Welsh now took up arms and ravaged the English borders; and on December 12, 1276, Edward summoned his military tenants to muster at Worcester, on the octave of St. John the Baptist (July 1, 1277), with horses and arms prepared for an expedition into Wales.²

In the spring of 1277 Edward himself left London to take the command of his army, and to make every effort for a vigorous prosecution of the war, with the full determination of completely subjugating the Welsh people. But before leading his army into North Wales against Llewelyn he ordered his fleet to cruise on the Welsh coast in order to cut off the enemy's provisions, and despatched a body of troops into South Wales to reinforce the army under the command of Pain de Chaworth, so as to distract the enemy's attention and reduce that country to submission.³

¹ Warrington's Hist. Wal. appendix Vol. II, p. 408, from Register Peckham, f. 242.

² Rymer's Fœdera. ³ Warrington's Hist.

The Lords of South Wales appear to have sided at first with Llewelyn, but they were unfortunately seduced from their Welsh allegiance, and gradually fell away to the King.

With a view to encourage a dissension amongst the Welsh Lords the King had given orders to Pain de Chaworth to receive into the King's favour such of Llewelyn's adherents as were willing to submit to his authority and become his vassals. Res ap Meredith was the first to secede from the cause of his countrymen, and on Sunday in the quindene of Easter (April 11,) 1277, he entered into a convention, at Carmarthen, with the Lord Pain de Chaworth, with the consent of the lords and knights of the King's forces in West Wales and other knights and faithful subjects of the King in those parts, whereby the said Lord Pain contracts, on behalf of the King, that the said King shall do full justice to the said Res with respect to the castle of Dynevor and the land of Maynertylau, the land of Methlaen, the land of Cayo, and Mabelven, when he shall have obtained power over the said castle and lands. And the aforesaid Res covenants to do his homage to the King, wherever the King shall please, at the King's command, and his fealty to the Lord Pain de Chaworth, in place of the King, as being his Lieutenant in those parts. The King pledges himself never to remove the said Res from his homage without his own free will, and never to compel him, or suffer him to be compelled, to do suit at any county or court unless the King shall hold the said county in his own possession. And the said Res, for his part, concedes to the knights and others of the King's forces a free shelter in his castles to go in and out as they please and as need shall require; also permission to lay up their provisions there, for which he will find them fit places. He likewise grants them leave to make roads, engages to give them his advice in the making of them, as well in his own land as in that of others through which the King's army may march, and promises to assist them with his own men to the best of his power. And, as often as need shall be, he will attend the King's war expeditions with all his forces, as well horse as foot, whenever he shall be reasonably summoned and required to do so. And if it shall happen that Griffin the son of Mereduc Ap-owayn

shall come to the King's peace, by his advice and procurement, on condition that the said Res shall give up to him his right which he claims in Gunynnith and Mebunnaun, the King will make reasonable satisfaction to the said Res elsewhere, according to the demands of justice, when it shall have been declared to him.¹

The defection of Res ap Meredith must have struck a fatal blow to the Welsh cause. His example was soon followed by Res Wendout, son of Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll ap Res Grig, and nephew (sister's son) to Prince Llewelyn.² "Llewelyn, brother of Res Wendout, and Howel ap Res Grig, quitted their territory, and went to Gwyneth to Llewelyn; Res [ap Res] ap Maelgon went to Roger Mortimer and made his submission to the King" through means of the said Roger.³ "And last of all from Deheubarth, Griffith and Cynan, the sons of Meredith ap Owen, and Llewelyn ap Owen their nephew became reconciled to the King. Then Pain son of Patrick [de Chaworth] subjugated to the King three commots of Uch Aeron, (namely) Anhunog and Mevenyth and commot Perveth (or the middle commot): and Res ap Meredith, Res Wendot, and the two sons of Meredith ap Owen went to the court of the King to offer their homage and oath of allegiance. But the King delayed receiving their homage until the next council; sending home Res ap Meredith and Griffith ap Meredith, and retaining with him Cynan ap Meredith ap Owen and Res Wendot. And then Pain placed Llewelyn ap Owen, as a youth in guardianship, because he was under age. After that, on the octave of the Feast of St. John (probably July 1, 1277) Res [ap Res] ap Maelgon and the four above named Barons did homage to the King in the council at Worcester."⁴ As the first-fruits of their submission the venerable castle of Stratywy or Dynevor with the adjacent country had been already delivered up to Pain de Chaworth, the King's Lieutenant.⁵ "The same year, on the Feast of St. James the apostle (July 25), Edmund [Earl of Lancaster], the King's brother, came with an army to Llanbadarn, and began to build a castle at Aberystwyth. And then the King with his forces

¹ Rym. Fæd. an. 5 Edw. I. ^{2, 3 & 4} Brut-y-Tywysogion. ⁵ Powel's History; Hist. Thom. Walsingham; Chron. Wil. Rishanger.

came to the Midland District [of North Wales], and fortified a castle at Flint, surrounded with vast dykes. From thence he proceeded to Rhuddlan, and this he also fortified by surrounding it with dykes; and there he tarried some time. That year, the Saturday after August [after the calends of August?], Res [ap Res] ap Maelgon retired to Gwyneth to Llewelyn, for fear of being taken by the English that were at Llanbadarn; and thereupon the English took possession of his whole territory. And along with him the men of Genaurglyn all retreated to Gwyneth, leaving the whole of their corn and land waste. On the eve of St. Matthew (August 8) Edmund [Earl of Lancaster] and Pain [de Chaworth] went to England, and left Roger Myles (or de Moels) to be Constable at Aberystwyth and to protect the country. The day after the Feast of St. Ynys [? the morrow of St. Denys, i.e. Oct. 10] Res Wendout and Cynan ap Meredith returned from the court of the King to their own country. That year, in the beginning of harvest, the King sent a great part of his army into Mona, which burned much of the country and took away much of the corn. And after that Llewelyn came to the King at Rhuddlan and made his peace with him.”¹

By the treaty of peace which was concluded with Llewelyn at Aberconway on the Tuesday next before the Feast of St. Martin (November 9, 1277), before the King left Wales, Llewelyn was forced to cede the cantrevs of Rhos, Rhyvonioc, Tegengl and Dyffryn Clwyd to the King; and though he was permitted to retain the homage of the five Barons of Snowdon, together with the title of Prince of Wales, for the term of his life, they were afterwards to revert to the King and his heirs.² The Barons whose homage the King conceded to Llewelyn for his life, were David ap Griffin ap Owen, Elisse, the two sons of Owen ap Blethyn, and Res Vachan ap Res ap Maelgun, “together with the land which he now holds; for, as to the land which the said King or those acting in his name have seized, none of it is conceded to him, but it will remain for ever in the King’s hands.”³

This decisive triumph on the part of the English King was followed by an interval of peace which lasted for

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion. ² Warrington’s Hist. ³ Rym. Fæd. an. 5 Edw. I.

about four years. But it must have been a time of bitter humiliation for the Lords of South Wales; for Edward now treated them as a conquered people, and seems to have paid but little heed to the terms of peace which had been made with them. This is substantiated by the list of grievances which they afterwards laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1282,¹ and which will be mentioned in due order.

The King's officers appear to have retained the comots of Anhunog, Mevenyth, and Perveth, in addition to those of Crewthyn and Geneurglyn, as lands conquered into the King's hands; moreover he deprived the sons of Meredith ap Owen of many of their ancient rights and liberties, such as those of "wreck" and supreme power of judgement in their own courts, where they were afterwards made to deliver judgment upon themselves. A strong castle was formed at Lampader Vaur to repress the irruptions of the Welsh;² and this castle was attached to the Honour of Cardigan, as was the castle of Dynevor to that of Carmarthen.

On January 7, 1278, Pain de Chaworth is ordered to do no injury or hurt to the persons of Howel ap Res Crek or his men as being entitled to enjoy the benefit of the peace, and that for the space of one year.³

By charter of the same date, the King notifies that he has admitted to his peace Res the son of Meredith and his men, and forbids their being molested on account of any transgressions which they may have committed before that time.⁴

A few days later, namely on January 10, 1278, Pain de Chaworth and Master Henry de Bray are appointed to hear and determine pleas and complaints in the parts of West Wales; and the King apprises them that he has ordered his Bailiffs of Lampader Vaur, Careukemuth (Carreg Cynen?), Dumanor (Dynevor), Gilgaran (Cilgarran), and Llanadever (Llandovery), the Bailiffs of his uncle William de Valence of Pembroke, the Bailiffs of Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford of Haverford, the Bailiffs of Nicholas fitz Martin of Cammay,

¹ Warrington's Hist. Wal. appendix Vol. II, p. 427. ² Hist. Thom. Walsingham.
³ Rot. Wall., 6-9 Edw. I, m. 12, de aº sexto. ⁴ Ibid. privately printed for Sir T. Phillippa.

the Bailiffs of Res the son of Mereduc of Dehuberd (Dehubarth), the Bailiffs of the Bishop of St. David's of West Wales, the Bailiffs of Griffin and Canan of the county of Kardygan, the Bailiffs of Res Vaghan of Dehuberd, of Guy de Brienne, of Thomas de la Roche and of William de Bonville, to cause to appear before them, at such times and places as they (the said Pain and Master H. de Bray) shall appoint, a sufficient number of good and lawful men from their bailiwicks and lands in those parts, through whom the truth may be best ascertained.¹

On the same day Res ap Meredith has orders to enlarge the roads through his woods between Kermardyn and Breckennen according to the order and provision of Pain de Chaworth and Master Henry de Bray.² And at the same time similar orders are issued to Griffin and Kanan sons of Mereduc, the Abbot of Thalachlawyan, Howel ap Griffin ap Edenavet, Res Vaghan, John Geffard, Humfrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, and the Abbot of Strata Florida, with respect to the roads in their woods where they are too narrow.³

In the same year, 1278, Griffith ap Meredith complains to the King and his parliament that when he had come to the King's peace and placed himself and his land at the King's will and favour, on the very first day, he was deprived of one half of all his land which he then held, namely of the commot of Maywenet, which is considered to be worth two other commots. And since the said Griffith is unable to live on the other half of his land he prays the King's majesty that some compensation may be made to him wherefrom he may derive support, lest it should seem to be the case, when favour was being shewn to all, that he, who took the greatest pains to assist the King's expedition at his own private cost, as he is bold to assert before the King's bailiffs, and who was the person of most power in the land of Cardigan when the war broke out, should be, as it were, left destitute of all good.⁴

The answer was that the King had made him a compensation in money (*curialitem de denariis*) at the Tower (of London).

¹ Rot. Wall., 6-9 Edw. I, m. 12, de a^o sexto, privately printed for Sir T. Phillipps.
² & ³ Rot. Wall., 6-9 Edw. I, m. 12. dorso, de a^o sexto. ⁴ Rot. Parl. 6 Edw. I, No. 20.

On July 27 of that year Roger de Molis and Howel ap Meuric were appointed to hear and determine the complaints which had been laid against Canan ap Meredith ap Owen and his tenants for injuries done to the Abbot and convent of Strata Florida.¹

We have seen that the Widow of Owen ap Meredith had sued for her dower in the commot of Anhunog in the January of the same year.

On February 15, in the following year, 1279, the King took the homage of Llewelyn ap Owen, at Woodstock, he being still a minor and in the King's guardianship, for all the lands and tenements which he claims to hold of the King and which belonged to Owen his father at the time of his death, to be held by the said Llewelyn so long as he should continue faithful to the King and his heirs. And Roger de Moeles the King's bailiff of Lampader Vaur had orders to put him immediately in seizin of all the aforesaid lands and tenements which belong to the said Llewelyn of the inheritance of Owen his father and which were then in the King's hands, saving the King's rights and those of others.²

A few months later the lords of Cardigan,—Griffith, Canan, and Llewelyn, were directed to hold an inquisition for the King concerning the justice of certain customs which had been exacted by the King's officers in those parts; and also concerning another matter more nearly affecting their own interests,³ which will be given on a future page.

The former portion of this inquisition is full of interest as recording the interchange of territory between Meredith ap Owen and Maelgon, by which the territory of Meredith was transferred to Cardigan Is Ayron and that of Maelgon to Uch Ayron. We have seen that this was followed by further exchanges after the re-conquest of the central commots of Cardigan by the native Lords about the year 1270. By these exchanges the commot of Pennarth had devolved upon Canan ap Meredith instead of the commot-Perveth. Owen ap Meredith had died seized of Anhunog in 1275, and, jointly with his brother Griffith, he had also been once more in possession of

¹ Rot. Wall. de aº septimo Edw. I, m. 9 (Sir T. Phillipps). ² Rot. Wall., 6-9 Edw. I, m. 9. dorso de aº septimo. ³ Inq. p.m. 7 Edw. I, No. 76.

commot-Perveth a few weeks before his death. I conjecture that the commot of Mevenyth was likewise recovered by the native lords about this time, and that this, the richest, commot was retained by Griffith, who may perhaps have thereupon handed over Perveth to Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon.

We have seen that these re-conquered commots were again reclaimed by the King after the peace of 1277, whereby the territories of the sons of Meredith would have been reduced to Cardigan Is Ayron, and the commot Pennarth: while Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon was only allowed to retain a portion of the commot of Geneurglyn, which he was to hold of the Prince of North Wales; so that the whole country of Uch Ayron, with the exception of the commot of Pennarth, was probably at this time in the King's hands.

It is more difficult to follow the changes which had taken place in Carmarthenshire.

On January 3, 1279, the King informs Walter de Wymborne that he has appointed him, conjointly with Walter de Hopton and his associates, to hear and determine the petitions and complaints preferred by John Giffard of Brimesfeld, Res Vaghan, and other Welshmen, with respect to the castle of Lanandeverly and its appurtenances.¹

On January 11, 1279, Res Vaghan, whom we know better as Res Wendot, received the King's pardon, to him and his men, for all the transgressions and excesses which they are said to have committed, up to the day of their submission to the King's will; and the King notifies his unwillingness that the said Res or his men should be molested, as far as their own persons are concerned, on account of those transgressions and excesses.²

It would seem that Res Wendot was also reinstated in a portion of his inheritance, such as the land of Cayo, and Methlaen including Llangadoc, and the lordship of Hiruryn. I suppose that the lands he formerly held in the commot of Maynor Teilo had been given up to the King together with the castle of Dynevor; and some portion at least of this commot appears to have been ceded to Res ap

¹ Rot. Wall. de a^o septimo Edw. I, m. 9 (Sir T. Phillipps). ² Rot. Wall. 6-9 Edw. I, m. 9. de a^o septimo.

Meredith; for on January 5, 1280, the King gives authority to Patric de Chaworth (who had succeeded his brother Pain in 1278) and Bogo de Knovill to make an exchange with Res ap Meredith for his portion of Dynevor.¹

In furtherance of this object Bogo de Knovill and Master Henry de Bray were ordered, by the King's letters dated at Westminster on June 10 of the same year, to make an extent of the commot of Manordelow and the wood below the King's castle of Dynevor which belong to Res ap Meredith, for the purpose of giving him in exchange for them, some other of the King's land in the county of Carmarthen or elsewhere as shall appear to them most expedient for the King's advantage.²

On the same day the King's Justiciary of West Wales received the following instructions from the King with respect to the woods within his jurisdiction; "Since we are given to understand that it is expedient, for the preservation of the peace in West Wales and for the safety of travellers, that the thick coverts in the woods of Res ap Meredith, Griffin ap Meredith, Canan ap Meredith, Llewelyn ap Owen, the Abbot of Strata Florida and the Abbot of Alba Landa, where robberies, homicides, and other enormities against the King's peace have been wont to be committed, should be cut down and assarted, we have ordered each of them to cause their woods to be cut down and assarted in such places as you shall point out to them, under your supervision and according to your directions; and we hereby require you to give sufficient notice to each of them, and to see that our orders are carried out by them without delay."³

At this date the King committed to Bogo de Knovill his castles and counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and the castles of Lampader, Dynevor, Karakenny, and Landover, with all the lands and tenements and other

¹ Rot. Wall. 6-9 Edw. I, m. 8. de aº octavo. From the same Roll it appears that Bogo de Knovill had been made Justiciary of West Wales on this same day; and the King committed to his custody the castle of Lampader Vawr and all the castles, lands and tenements which were then in the custody of Roger de Molis in West Wales, to hold during the King's pleasure, as also the castles of Cardigan, Carmarthen, Dynevor, and Karakenny, the respective castellans of which were commanded to deliver them up to him. By charter of January 7, the King empowers Patric de Chaworth and Bogo de Knovill to assign to Roger de Mortimer of West Wales 50 librates of land in the King's wastes according to the valuation of Richard de Exon and Master Henry de Bray. This land was assigned to him in the commot of Geneurglyn. Its boundaries are described in an inquest of 13 Edw. I (No. 41). ² Rot. Wall. 6-9 Edw. I, m. 7 de aº octavo. ³ Rot. Wall. de aº octavo Edw. I (Sir Thomas Phillipps).

goods which were in the hands of the King in West Wales, to keep at his own expense as long as the King shall please, except the bailiwick of Buelt, by the service of paying to the King's treasury the sum of forty marks *per annum*, so that the said Bogo should receive all the profits beyond the said 40 marks.¹

It would seem that the peace conceded to Howel ap Res Grig in January, 1278, did not produce any solid reconciliation; for on June 10, 1280, the King grants to Richard de la Mote, for the laudable service which he has rendered to the King, all that land with the appurtenances in Landarak which belonged to Owel son of Res, a fugitive and outlaw, to be held during the King's pleasure by the service of finding one horse caparisoned for war in the King's armies, whensoever he shall be summoned by the King's bailiffs in West Wales.²

On July 7, 1281, Thomas, Bishop of St. David's and Robert de Tybetot are appointed to make enquiries into any transgressions and injuries of which the men of the parts about Lampader Vawr may complain, and to do justice thereon. And at the same time they were commissioned to let the King's lands in those parts in fee at such rents as shall seem expedient to them.³

On July 12, 1281, the King concedes to Res ap Meredith permission to hold an annual fair at his manor of Drosleyn; to be held on the Festival of St. Bartholomew and the three following days.⁴

On December 3, 1281, the above named Thomas, Bishop of St. David's, Reginald de Grey and Walter de Hopton are appointed to hold an enquiry as to the manner in which the King's ancestors, the Kings of England, were wont to govern the Welshmen; which enquiry was accordingly held at Chester, Rhuddlan, Oswestry and Montgomery in January, and at Lampader Vawr on February 5, of the following year, 1282.⁵

The political horizon was now darkening over; the clouds were gathering for a storm, which was soon to burst forth with renewed force and all the violence of desperation.

¹ Rot. Wall. de 20 octavo Edw. I (Sir Thomas Phillipps). ² Rot. Wall. 6-9 Edw. I, m. 7 de 20 octavo. ³ & ⁵ Rot. Wall. de 20 nono (Sir T. Phillipps). ⁴ Rot. chart., 9 Edw. I, No. 34.

After the submission of Prince Llewelyn in 1277, he had been forced to go to London, accompanied by his Barons, to do homage to the King. During the fortnight that he remained there the large retinues of the Welsh Barons were lodged in Islington and the neighbouring villages. Their foreign manners, their unintelligible language, and the fashion of their garments, were made the subject of ridicule by the Londoners who treated them with scorn and derision. Such treatment was warmly resented by the proud and irascible Welshmen, who longed to revenge themselves for the insults they received, and returned to their country with the full determination of revolting on the first opportunity. This spirit of enmity and dissatisfaction was quickly diffused amongst their countrymen at home, who soon began to feel for themselves the bitter consequences of their submission. Dr. Powel, in speaking of this period, says that "the peace concluded between the Prince of Wales and the King of England did not long continue, by reason of the severe and strict dealing of such officers as the King appointed rulers in the Marches and the inland countrie of Wales; who, hunting after their owne gaines oppressed the inhabitants, burthening them with new exactions contrarie to the customes of the countrie; and also shewing themselves too much affectionate in matters of controversie between partie and partie, especiallie when anie Englishman had to doo in the matter: which poling and imparcialitie did altogether alienate the harts of the people from the King of England, so that they had rather die than live in such thraldome." Edward, impatient of the fruits of his late successes, had at once revived the hated English Institutions, which he had formerly endeavoured to introduce into Wales when he held the Earldom of Chester and the Honour of Cardigan in the time of King Henry his father. It was his design, by one decisive blow, to sweep away all traces of their ancient jurisprudence. During the time of his former occupation he had divided the Welsh districts into counties, like those of the English shires, appointing Sheriffs, with power to hold courts, and English Justiciaries to administer justice. These institutions were immediately re-introduced. The Welsh, as

was natural, surveyed the design with jealousy and indignation. Attached to the customs of their fathers, they determined to receive neither laws nor manners which were derived from the English; and at the commencement of the year 1282 the smouldering fire burst out. David ap Griffith, now reconciled to his brother Prince Llewelyn was the first to commence hostilities. On the Feast of St. Benet the Abbot (March 21, 1282) he surprised and took the castle of Hawarden and slew the whole of the garrison except Roger de Clifford and Pagan Gamage, whom he took and imprisoned.¹ After this the two brothers, Llewelyn and David, having joined their forces, invested the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, the only fortresses which were then in possession of the English.² These exploits were regarded as the signals of revolt. The Welsh, rising from every quarter, were in arms in a moment; and the spirit of their fathers seemed to animate every bosom.

On the Feast of St. Mary of the Equinox (March 25, 1282) Griffith ap Meredith ap Owen, and Res ap Res ap Maelgon possessed themselves of the town and castle of Lampader Vawr; and having burnt both the town and the castle, they destroyed the rampart that surrounded them, sparing the lives of the garrison because the days of the passion were near at hand.³ The cantrev Penwedie was at this time conquered by Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, and the commot of Mevenyth by Griffith ap Meredith.⁴ At the same time the castle of Llandoverly and the castle of Carregcennen were taken by David ap Griffith, the brother of Llewelyn Prince of North Wales, Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, Griffith and Canan the sons of Meredith ap Owen, and Griffith and Llewelyn the sons of Res Vychan and Lords of Deyskennen (or Iscennen), namely on the morrow of the Annunciation of our Lady (i.e. on March 26).⁵

In this war it would appear that all the lords of South Wales joined the insurrection with the exception of

¹ Brut-y-Tywysogion, compared with Warrington, Walsingham and Rishanger.
² Warrington's Hist. ³ & ⁴ Brut-y-Tywysogion, compared with T. Walsingham and W. Rishanger. The Brut, from which I have hitherto quoted closes at this period, the Version which I have called the Gwentian Chronicle having concluded at an earlier date with the death of the Lord Res ap Griffith in 1197. ⁵ Annales Cambriæ, compared with Walsingham and Rishanger.

Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig. This chieftain, the son of an English mother, and soon about to ally himself with the daughter of an English House, had never been a true friend to his country's cause. The first to desert the Welsh confederation at the commencement of the last war, as his father before him had done in earlier days, he largely partook of the Royal favour; and upon him were bestowed a considerable portion of the confiscated estates of his unfortunate kinsmen.

On the outbreak of this last great struggle for independence on the part of the Welsh, King Edward was keeping his Easter at Devizes; and great was his fury when he heard of the revolt of those whom he had believed to be fully and hopelessly subjugated beneath his yoke. Instead of awaiting the slow issue which time and milder measures might yet produce to bring them to submission, he once more determined to crush the whole Welsh nation, and totally extinguish that spirit of freedom which all his previous efforts had as yet been unable to subdue.

While preparing for his military operations he sent a letter to the two archbishops, desiring them to issue spiritual censures against Llewelyn and his adherents. But before proceeding to this extremity, John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, of his own accord undertook a journey to Wales with the hope of conciliating the Welsh Prince.

In the meantime the King raised large subsidies and sent to all the trading towns in England to borrow money, desiring a like loan from Ireland. The Barons of the Exchequer and the Judges of the King's bench repaired to Shrewsbury, with orders to hold their courts in that place during the continuance of the war. A people like the Welsh, small in number, and scattered over a comparatively barren district, rise in importance as we view these mighty preparations.

As soon as the King had concerted his measures he set out for the Marches; having issued his summons, from Worcester, on May 20, to all his military tenants to meet him at Rhuddlan in the ensuing June. After remaining a fortnight at Chester, to refresh his troops, he invested the castle of Hope about the middle of June. On the King's advance the Welsh Princes retired from before

Rhuddlan, and retreated slowly towards Snowdon. During this retreat, however, an engagement took place with a detachment of the English army in which fourteen Ensigns were taken by the Welsh, William de Audley, Roger de Clifford Junior, Luke de Tany, William de Lindsey, and many others were slain, and the King himself was obliged to retire for protection into Hope castle, the fortress he had lately taken.¹

While Edward was thus prosecuting the war in person in the North, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, had been sent into South Wales to reduce that country to submission and to check the ravages of Griffith ap Meredith and the other Welsh Lords, with whom he fought a great battle near Llandeilo Vawr on July 17. In this battle many of the Welsh were slain, and of the English five knights, of whom one was young William de Valence, Lord of Montignac, the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke.²

The King was at this time residing at Rhuddlan castle, and from thence he bestowed many grants of lands in Wales upon the English Barons who served him in these wars. It was from here too that he conceded to Res ap Meredith a portion of the confiscated estates of Res Vychan, of Ystradtywi, and the sons of Meredith ap Owen. By his charter, dated at "Rothelaun" on July 28, 1282, after reciting that King Henry his late father had given to Meredith ap Res two commots with their appurtenances in the land of Cardigan, namely Mebueniaun and Weynionyth which Griffin ap Meredith and Kanan his brother the King's enemies and rebels now hold, and which belong to the King by their forfeiture, of which said commots neither the said Meredith nor yet his son Res could ever obtain seizin, the King, in consideration of the faithful service which the said Res ap Meredith alone of all the nobles and magnates of West Wales had rendered to him in the time of the late war and wishing to shew him the more abundant favour he so well deserves, concedes to him the said two commots, except the lands which Lewelin ap Oweyn held in the said two commots at the time of the commencement of the last war; he also concedes to him all the land of

¹ Warrington's Hist., compared with Rishanger, and Florence of Worcester.

² Nic. Trivetii Annales, Rishanger, Walsingham, and Annales Cambrie.

Methlaen and Kayon with their appurtenances which Res Vaghan the King's enemy and rebel now holds and which by reason of his forfeiture similarly belongs to the King; to hold to the said Res ap Meredith and his heirs for ever as fully and freely as the said Griffin, Kanan, and Res Vaghan held them at the beginning of the said insurrection.¹

Two days later, on July 30, 1282, authority is given to Res ap Meredith to receive in the King's name the Welshmen of the said Res' own lands and also such Welshmen of the commots of Mebweynon, Weynonith, Melaten and Kayon as have not taken up arms against the King in the present war and are willing to come to the King's peace. And William de Valence and Robert de Tybotot are accordingly commanded to permit the said Res so to receive them.²

During these transactions the Archbishop came a second time into Wales with offers of his assistance as a mediator. In answer to which Llewelyn and his council sent a memorial dated from Garthcelyn on the Feast of St. Martin (November 11). In a strain of eloquence, mild and persuasive, which might do honour to a more polished age, he recited the various evils which he himself and his country had suffered from Edward's ambition and the rapine of delegated power, and, with a firmness softened by piety and meekness, he demanded that justice from the rights of nature, and the spirit of the treaties subsisting between them, which the unjust conduct of the King of England had hitherto denied him.³ Amongst other wrongs he complains that, whereas it was contained in the form of peace that Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon should retain all the land that he then had in possession, after the peace was concluded he was spoiled of all his lands of Geneurglyn which he then held together with the men and cattle thereof. Also that when certain men of Geneurglyn had taken certain goods of some of their neighbours of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the Prince in Meyreon, the King's men of Llanbadarn did take away the said goods out of the land of the Prince from Meyreon; and when the Prince's

¹ Rot. Wall., 10 Edw. I, m. 4 in schedula. ² Rot. Wall., 10 Edw. I, m. 4.
³ Warrington's Hist.

men went there to ask why they took the said prey, the King's men killed one of them, and wounded others, and some they imprisoned. And whereas it was contained in the said form of peace that those things which were committed in the Marches should be remedied in the Marches, yet the said King's men refused to listen to the Prince's men elsewhere than in the castle of Llanbadarn contrary to the said form of peace, for which they could never obtain justice up to this day.

In like manner memorials of the injuries they had received were sent by the sons of Meredith ap Owen, as also by Res Vychan of Ystradtywi and others.

“These are the grievances, wrongs, and molestations, done by the Englishmen to the sons of Meredith ap Owen. The first is that, although the King conceded to the aforesaid Nobles their own inheritance after the form of peace, namely Geneur'glyn and Creudhyn; yet the said King, contrary to his own donation and the form of peace, disinherited the aforesaid Nobles of the lands above mentioned, denying them all the laws and customs of Wales, and of England, and of the county of Caermardhyn. The second is, that the aforesaid King in his county of Cardigan by his Justices compelled the aforesaid Nobles to administer justice, and to deliver judgement against themselves, according to the verdict of low-born men and serfs of the land, where their ancestors never suffered the like of Englishmen. The third is, that the Justices of the Lord King have taken away the court of the said Noblemen, compelling their own men to make satisfaction before the said Justices, where they ought of right to make satisfaction before the aforesaid Nobles. The fourth is, that there had been a certain shipwreck in the lands of the said Nobles, which said Nobles had received the goods of the shipwreck, as their ancestors before them had been accustomed to do, and they had never been prohibited from doing so by any on the King's behalf; but the aforesaid King, contrary to their law and custom, had fined them to the amount of eighty marks sterling on account of that shipwreck, and carried off all the goods which were contained in that shipwreck. The fifth is, that none of our men in the county *Uffegd (sic)* of Cardigan dare come among the English for fear of imprisonment;

and if it had not been for danger which threatened the aforesaid Seignourial Lords they would not have moved against the King's dignity. They further declare that all Christians have laws and customs in their own proper lands; the Jews indeed have laws among the English, and they themselves and their ancestors had fixed laws and customs until England took away their laws from them after the last war."

"These are the grievances done by the Lord King and his Justices to Res Vychan of Ystrad Tywi. The first is, that after the said Res had given and conceded to the Lord King his castle at Dynevowr in accordance with the last form of peace, the said Res being then in the tent of the Lord Pagan de Gadfry [de Cadurcis or Chaworth], there were slain six Noblemen of the Lord Res, which was a great loss and grievance, and for which he has never had satisfaction or justice. Also that John Giffard claimed against Res his (the said Res's) own inheritance at Hirwryn, as to which Res requested of the King the law of his country, or the law of the county of Caermardden, in which county the ancestors of the said Res were accustomed to have law when they were at one with the English and under their dominion; but the said Res received no law, and altogether lost the aforesaid land.¹ They wished him to go to law in the county of Hereford, where his ancestors had never answered. Further in the lands of the said Res such grievances were committed by the English as do most appertain to the Ecclesiastical courts; that is to say in the church of St. David which is

¹ It would seem that litigation was pending in the King's courts, between Res Vychan and John Giffard (whose title was in right of his wife Matilda de Clifford, the widow of William Longespee) with respect to the town of Llandovery and the commots of Hyrfryn and Derfedd or Pertieth, when the war broke out in the winter of 1282. In the Hilary term of that year "John Gyffard and Matilda his wife,—in right of the said Matilda, who affirms that she is the heir of her ancestor Walter de Clyfford, who had issue a son Walter, from which Walter the right of inheritance descended to Walter the father of the said Matilda,—implead Res Vathan for a moiety of the vill of Lannandeverly, except the castle, and a moiety of a third part of the commot of Hyrefryn" (Abb. Plac. 10 Edw. I, rot. 17). They had another plea against him for the whole commot of "Perenyx." The castle of Llandovery had now become a Royal castle, but the lands appear to have remained with Walter de Clifford's heirs at such times as they were not occupied by the Welsh, or else to have been subsequently granted to them by the King. John Giffard of Brumesfield apparently died seized, in 1299, of the commots of Irefryn, Iscennen and Perneu, with the castle of Llandovery, which he probably held for his life by the courtesy of England (Cal. Inq. p.m. 27 Edw. I, No. 35). On November 6, 1280, this John Giffard had a licence from the King to hunt wolves with dogs and nets in all forests in England (Rymer's *Fœdera*).

called Llangadawc they made stables, and brought harlots, and entirely carried away all the goods that were contained there, and burned all the houses; and in the same church near the altar they struck the chaplain on the head with a sword and left him half dead. Again, in the same country they spoiled and burned the church of Dyngad and the church of Llantredaf; and other churches in those parts they altogether spoiled of chalices, and books, and all their other ornaments and furniture."

"The grievances of Lewelyn ap Res and Howel his brother done to them by the Lord King are these. After that, in the form of peace between the Lord Henry at that time King of England and the Lord Prince at Rydchwnna, the said King then conceded, and by his charters confirmed, to the said Prince the homage of the said Nobles so long as they remained faithful and constant to the said Prince according to their deed and confirmation by their charters, Edward now King of England disinherited the aforesaid Noblemen, denying them all the laws and customs of Wales; so that they could not have their own lands either by law or favour."¹

Similar complaints and grievances were also brought forward from other parts of Wales. And it was further declared by Llewelyn and his adherents that if their grievances were redressed, their native laws preserved to them, and if their personal safety for the future might depend upon the tenor of the late treaty, they were ready to enter into a lasting peace with England. There is a force in these recitals, thus arranged and authenticated, expressive of the situation of the Welsh: all of them complaining of injuries, of the violation of treaties, and of the power of the mighty over the weak.

The Archbishop's mediation, however, appears to have been altogether ineffectual. The King and his Barons were determined to treat with Llewelyn on no other terms than those of the actual surrender of his person and Principality; and to such terms the Welsh were equally resolved to turn a deaf ear.

In November the English met with a severe check at the battle of Menai Bridge, which forced them to retire

¹ Appendix to Warrington's Hist.; Extracted from Register Peckham, f. 242.

again to Rhuddlan; from whence, on November 24, the King issued fresh summonses to the sheriffs of all the English counties to raise further contingents for the war.

On the departure of the Earl of Gloucester from Ystrad Tywi the Princes of South Wales were joined by Llewelyn, who, triumphant with the late success of his countrymen at Menai, left his brother David to guard the passes of Snowdon, and came to reanimate the spirits of his allies in the South, where he overran the territories of Cardigan and Carmarthen, and specially ravaged the lands of Res ap Meredith. The History which follows is too well known to need recapitulation here. It was during this visit of Llewelyn to South Wales that he was surprised and slain near Pont Orewyn in the lordship of Buellt on December 10, 1282, while proceeding unarmed and accompanied only by a single esquire to attend a conference with some of the English Barons of that district, by whom he was in all probability betrayed. Letters were found upon him which implicated several of the English Lords in his rebellion and rendered them liable to the charge of treason, but they were prudently overlooked by the English monarch.

The head of Llewelyn was sent to London to feast the eyes of his enemies. Edward took advantage of his fall to prosecute the war with renewed vigour, and the fate of it was decided in the course of the winter months. David, who had assumed the chief rule upon the death of his brother, still held out against the King with a great number of Welshmen; but Edward pursued him even to the heights of Snowdon, keeping his Easter at the Abbey of Aberconway, so that David and his followers were obliged to hide themselves in the mountains and marshes near to the castle of Bere in which he had placed a garrison, and his army was daily diminished in numbers. The King now made an easy conquest of the castles of Snowdon except that of Bere, which was eventually surrendered to him. He also took many hostages from the Nobles of Wales and prepared to return to England.

It appears that Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, having been with the King (either as a hostage or as having voluntarily surrendered himself) made his escape to David, and being taken by the King was imprisoned in the

Tower of London.¹ Many of the Welsh Nobles now came to the King's peace; and those who would not were consumed by hunger and want. At length Prince David himself, who had been for months a fugitive hiding himself where he could, was taken by some of his own retainers on June 21, 1283, and delivered up to the English at Rhuddlan, where he was first confined as a close prisoner and afterwards sent in chains to Shrewsbury. Here as an English Baron he afterwards underwent the form of a trial; for which purpose a parliament was summoned on September 30, which was very fully attended.² He was condemned to die as a traitor and to suffer five different kinds of punishment,—namely, to be drawn at the tails of horses through the streets of Shrewsbury to the place of execution, because he was a traitor to the King who had made him a knight: to be hanged for having murdered Fulk Trigald and other knights in the castle of Hawarden: his heart and bowels to be burnt, because those murders had been perpetrated on Palm Sunday: his head to be cut off: his body to be quartered, and to be hung up in four different parts of the kingdom. This cruel sentence was executed in all its rigorous severity, and the citizens of York and Winchester actually contended with savage eagerness for the right shoulder of the unfortunate Prince, which was sent to Winchester.³

In the meantime, whilst Edward was thus engaged in North Wales, a body of forces, under the Earl of Pembroke, had successfully carried on the war in South Wales;⁴ so that Griffith and Canan, the sons of Meredith, Griffith and Llewelyn, the sons of Res Vychan, and Howel ap Res the brother of Meredith ap Res, as well as Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, were all taken and imprisoned in London.⁵ And, as Powel informs us, there was none that

¹ My only authority for this flight and capture of Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon is the following equivocal passage from *Annales de Dunstaplia* which I think most likely to refer to him. "Resum filium Waluani, qui cum domino rege steterat et ab eo ad dietum David confugerat, cepit rex, et in Turri Londiniæ incarcerationavit. Tunc multi nobiles de Walensibus ad pacem regis venerunt; et qui nolebant, fame et inedia miserabiliter sunt consumpti." ² This was the first national parliament in which the commons had any share by legal authority; for that summoned by De Montford cannot be called such. Besides 110 earls and barons there were two knights from each county and two burgesses from certain of the principal towns. The omission of writs to the Bishops and Abbots on this occasion can only be accounted for on the supposition that the parliament was summoned for the sole purpose of passing sentence upon David, inasmuch as spiritual peers have no votes in cases of blood. ³ & ⁴ Warrington's Hist. ⁵ *Annales Cambriæ*.

stood out but Res Vychan of Ystratywy. This "Res a Vawhan, the richest and most powerful of the Welsh chieftains, who had opposed the King during the whole period of the war, and who, moving from province to province, had committed great slaughter and ferociously devastated the King's lands; being discouraged in spirit when he heard of the death of Llewelyn and the capture of David, and being himself closely pursued by the King's forces, at length repaired with his accomplices to Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and surrendered to him. The Earl of Hereford sent him forthwith to the King, who sent him on to London with orders to bind him with fetters and to keep him carefully guarded in the Tower."¹ "And so the King passed through all Wales, and brought all the countrie in subjection to the crown of England."²

¹ Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, p. 293. ² Powell's Hist.

CHAPTER XI.

Up to this period the fortunes of the respective Princes of South Wales are so closely interwoven that it has been almost impossible to treat of them separately.

During the late "wars of Llewelyn and David," as they were called in the records of the time, these Lords were represented by Llewelyn ap Owen, a minor, and his uncles Griffith and Canan; Res Wendot of Ystrad Tywi, who was the son of Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll ap Res Grig, and his brothers Llewelyn, Howel, and Griffith; Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig; Howel ap Res Grig; and Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon.

In order to shew more clearly what lands were held by each of them at this time, I shall have to repeat much of what has been already said; but what with the King's grants and those of the Princes of North Wales, and their own acquisitions and deforcements, it requires some care to trace the many changes which took place in the tenure of their lands.

I shall begin with the younger branches; and first with the

DESCENDANTS OF RES GRIG.

(I) RES MECHYLL.

When Res Grig, alias Res Vychan (I), died in 1233, his territory is said to have been divided between his sons Res and Meredith; but Res Vychan the eldest son, succeeded to the greater portion. He must have been many years older than his brothers Meredith and Howel; and his son was styled Argloith or Lord, a title not given to Meredith or his son; yet Meredith is in one place called the son and heir of Res Grig during the lifetime of his father.¹ This was in 1222, and it may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Res Vychan and his father

¹ See page 102.

were constantly at enmity. In 1226 we find Res Vychan wresting from Res Grig his father, the castle of Llandovery, and it is not unlikely that his father may have intended to make Meredith his heir. On the death of Res Grig, however, Res Vychan (II), who is better known as Res Mechyll, inherited the castle of Dynevor and the greater part, at least, of the cantrev Mawr.

Res Mechyll ap Res Grig died in 1244, and was succeeded by his sons, of whom there must have been three at least living at the time of his death;¹ but we never hear of more than one, namely Res Vychan (III), after the year 1245, and for reasons which will be given hereafter it is probable that the others died without leaving issue.

Res Vychan (III) and his uncle Meredith ap Res Grig were at variance during the greater part of their lives, and generally took opposite sides in the wars between the Welsh and English. In 1248 Res Vychan recovered the castle of Carregcennen which his mother had surrendered to the English out of ill-will towards her son. In the same year he probably took possession of the land of Iscennen, which would seem to have been the inheritance of his uncle Meredith ap Res. And in 1252 he gives the King 20 marks to hold the same liberties and customs for his lands in Keyrmardin as he and his ancestors had held in the time of Llewelyn formerly Prince of Wales (i.e. Llewelyn ap Jerwerth). But in 1256 he was ejected from his territory by Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith, who gave it to Meredith ap Res; whereupon Res Vychan betook himself to the English. The English, however, were unable to re-instate him in his possessions, and in the following year, during the period of the Welsh successes, a temporary reconciliation was patched up between the uncle and nephew, which was probably effected through the instrumentality of Llewelyn; and at this time we may assume that a fresh division of lands was made between them.

¹ The sons of Res Wachan were summoned by King Henry on January 6, 1245, with the other Barons of South Wales, to answer for their transgressions against the King's peace (Rymer's *Fædera*); and in August of the same year the King took the homage of Res, the son of Res Wachan, and because the said Res and his brothers had returned to the King's peace, the King's lieges are commanded to suffer the said Res and his brothers to pass hither and thither freely at their will (Rot. Pat. 30 Hen. III., m. 2).

Before the close of that year Meredith broke his faith with the Welsh Princes and went over to the King, who conceded to him all the lands which he then held, namely Hyrhrin and Matheyn with the castle of Llandovery, commot Pertiet and Iscennen with the castle of Droysleyn, Emelyn and Estrelef with the New Castle, Maynahur Lonsawil and Maniour inter Turth & Kothy and the whole land of Kayo, as well as all the land of Res Vychan, namely Mabuderith, Mabelneu, Meynaur Teylau, Ketheynauth and Meynaur filiorum Seysild with the castles of Dynevor and Carregcennen, with all their appurtenances for ever. But the lands of Res Vychan, which were thus granted by the King to Meredith as escheats to the crown, nevertheless remained in Res Vychan's possession, and were at his death transmitted to his sons.

During the remainder of his life Res Vychan was true to his Welsh allegiance and he and his uncle were henceforth almost invariably engaged on different sides, although Meredith, as well as Res, appears to have sided with the Welsh in 1261 and may have continued with them till the year 1265-6, when he was once more taken into the King's pay. How far the territorial holdings of these two chieftains may have been affected by the peace of 1267 I am unable to say, but from an inquest taken in 1318, which will be given hereafter, it would appear that some further arrangement of lands was made between them at some period before the time of their deaths. Meredith ap Res Grig died at his castle of Drosllwyn on July 22, 1271, and Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll at his castle of Dynevor on August 17, of the same year. Res Vychan's wife, who died in 1261, was Gladys, the daughter of Griffith ap Llewelyn and sister of Llewelyn and David the last native Princes of North Wales. Res Vychan was succeeded in the greater part of his lands by his sons Llewelyn ap Res and Res Vychan (IV) otherwise called Res Wendot.

From an inquest held about 35 years after the close of the wars of Llewelyn and David we gather much information respecting the Princes of this line. The said inquest was taken at Carmarthen, on the Feast of Saints Philip and James, 11 Edw. II (May 1, 1318), for the purpose of testing the truth of certain complaints which were made,

by the tenants of the Bishop of St. David's at Llandeilo Vawr, against the King's officers in those parts. The jurors were instructed to enquire whether the said Bishop's tenants were compelled by Res Vaughan, the then Lord of Dynevor, in the time of the Welsh war, to sell to the said Res and his men 8 flagons (*lajenæ*) of beer for six pence, and whether the King's Bailiffs of the said manor had since required it of them. The jury found that Res Argloith (i.e. Res Vychan III) had formerly been Lord of Dynevor, and Meredith ap Res Lord of Drosslan, and they divided the whole cantrev Mawr between them and went to war with each other, and this was some 44 years since.¹ The Bishop at that time held the vill of Lanteylon Vawr of the King *in capite*, and that vill was within the precincts of the Lord Res' portion of the cantrev. In the time of the said war the men of the said Lord Res had first begun to take from the Bishop's tenants in the said vill seven flagons of beer from each brewery without payment, and he did so contrary to justice and against their ancient liberties. That war lasted throughout the whole life of the same Res; and his men continued to levy the said custom. After the death of the said Lord Res, his sons Llewelyn ap Res and Res Wendot divided all the land of the said Res between them, and the said vill of Lanteylon Vawr was within the precincts of the portion which fell to Res Wendot. During the time that he was Lord there, neither he nor his Bailiffs in time of peace ever received anything under the pretext of this custom. The same Res Wendot afterwards took part with Llewelyn Prince of Wales in his war against the King, but neither was the aforesaid custom exacted at that time. The said Res Wendot was taken captive in the same war, and died in the King's prison in England, and his lands were forfeited to the King. Immediately after which the whole lands of the said Res Wendot were granted by the King to Res ap Meredith, except the castle of Dynevor and a certain vill named Dref Scoleygyon. Neither Res ap Meredith or his Bailiffs had ever exacted that custom either in the

¹ The presentment of the jurors is not strictly accurate, for according to it the partition of the Cantrev Mawr between Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll and Meredith ap Res Grig would have taken place about 1274, whereas they were both dead in 1271; but we may understand it to mean that it took place as much as 44 years since,—probably towards the close of their lives.

time of peace or yet in the time of the war that he waged against the King. After this the said castle of Dynevor was in the King's hands for three years without any such exaction being made, until a certain Henry Loundres, who was appointed constable of the said castle by the Lord Robert Tynetot then Justice of South Wales, distrained the men of the said Bishop at Lanteylon Vawr for the aforesaid custom: whereupon they complained to the King, who commanded the said Lord Robert to see that justice was done to them; and Robert ordered him to desist. And so that exaction ceased until the time of a certain William Clifford, who was appointed constable of the said castle under the Lord John Giffard, father of the Lord John that now is, to whom the custody thereof had been committed by the King; namely, twenty-one years since; which William levied that custom by force and extortion. And ever since that time the men of the constable of that castle have levied that custom and distrained for it, for which they have paid nothing.¹

From this inquest we learn that Res Wendot succeeded to that portion of his father's territory which included the castle of Dynevor and Llandeilo Vawr, although the manor of Llandeilo Vawr was held of the King by the Bishop of St. David's: and we learn from another source that his brother Llewelyn ap Res had the commot of Iscennen and the castle of Carregcennen for his portion. From which we may infer not only that the King's grant to Meredith ap Res, in 1257, of the lands of Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll had been inoperative to transfer them to the grantee, but also that Res Vychan had subsequently acquired some part at least of Meredith's lands, during the wars between Llewelyn and Henry III, which he retained after the peace of 1267.

From this inquest we also learn that Res Wendot (or

¹ Inq. ad quod damnum, 11 Edw. II, No. 102. There is an endorsement on the inquisition to the following effect, namely, that Edward Hackelut, constable of Dynevor Castle, was examined on July 12, 1318, with respect to the contents of this inquisition, and he said that the inquisition was taken solely on the oath of Welshmen and was therefore liable to suspicion. He also said that this custom, namely the eight flagons of beer for sixpence from each brewery, was paid to the King in lieu of his right of levying a tax upon beer, and that this custom had been specially enrolled in the Treasury of Carmarthen and likewise in the accounts rendered to the Treasury of England, and that it was an ancient custom and due from time out of mind, before that castle came into the hands of the King's ancestors. The question would therefore await the decision of Parliament.

Res Vychan IV of Istradtywi) died in the King's prison in England, and that his lands were forfeited into the King's hands.

Of his brother Llewelyn ap Res, the Lord of Iscennen, it is recorded that, in 1277, when Res Wendot and most of the Lords of South Wales went over to the English King, he and Howel ap Res Grig came to the assistance of Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales, to whom their allegiance was due. Llewelyn ap Res, however, appears to have afterwards yielded himself and his lands into the hands of the King, who received his homage, but took his lands into his own custody and placed Llewelyn himself in prison until peace should be more fully assured.

In 1282 Llewelyn ap Res and Howel his brother complain that their lands were unjustly withheld from them by King Edward. It would seem that Llewelyn was subsequently released from his restraint (though he did not recover his lands) for the name of Llewelyn ap Res occurs as a witness, in 1285, together with the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of St. David's, Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, William de Valencia, John Earl Warren and other men of importance, to a deed of Res ap Meredith whereby he settles certain lands upon Auda de Hastings his affianced bride;¹ and also to a corresponding deed of John de Hastings, in the same year, whereby he settles certain lands upon Res ap Meredith and Auda his wife, sister of the said John de Hastings.²

Llewelyn ap Res died without issue; and his lands were afterwards claimed by the Talbots who proved themselves to be his nearest heirs.

I learn no more of Howel ap Res, the brother of Res Wendot and Llewelyn, nor yet of Griffith ap Res, a fourth brother, who is mentioned in the *Annales Cambriæ* as joint Lord of Iscennen in 1282 and as being taken in 1283 and imprisoned in London.

From Res Wendot, according to the Welsh Genealogists, many Cambrian families deduce their descent, but we cannot place any confidence in the earlier descents of the Welsh Heraldic Pedigrees where they are not corroborated

¹ Rot. Wall. 13 Edw. I, m. 3. d. ² Ibid.

by other evidence.¹ From what follows I should infer that neither Res Wendot nor any of his brothers left legitimate issue.

It has been stated that Llewelyn ap Res died without issue. At an inquisition taken at Landow juxta Bregheynok, on the Monday next after the close of Easter 10 Edw. III (April 8, 1336) before William de Shareshull Roger Pychard and John de Mersheton, it was shewn that, in the time of the first war between Edward I and the Prince of Wales, Llewelyn ap Res Vaghan was seized of the castle of Carregcennen and the commot of Iscennen in demesne as of fee, which same Llewelyn of his own accord repaired to the said King and came to his peace and fealty, and did homage to him for his lands; but the King for the better security of peace committed the said Llewelyn to prison until the peace should be more fully assured. While Llewelyn was thus kept in custody the said King took the aforesaid castle and commot, which were in the seizin of Llewelyn, into his own hands. The jurors reported that it was in that way only that the aforesaid castle and commot came into the King's hands, and they said that the same Llewelyn died in the peace and

¹ According to the Welsh Pedigrees, as given by the great Welsh Antiquary Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt in the Peniarth MS. No. 70, and elsewhere, Rhys Gloff (whom I suppose to be the same with Res Wendot) the son of Rhys Vychan ap Rhys Mechyll was Lord of Cymytmaen, either by his own marriage or that of one of his ancestors with the daughter and heiress of Griffith Lord of Cymytmaen in Lleyn. This Rhys Gloff is said to have had three sons, namely Madog, Meredith Goch, and Rhys Arbenig. Madog ap Rhys Gloff is said to have been father of Trahaern Goch, of Lleyn, who relinquished his paternal coat and bore azure a chevron between 3 Dolphins hauriant ar. There is some contradiction and much confusion in this early part of the pedigree, which connects the descendants of Trahaern with the Princes of South Wales, but from Trahaern Goch downwards the Pedigree is corroborated by the Minister's accounts and other evidence. Trahaern Goch had two sons, namely Ithel Dalfrith and David Goch of Penllech. From Ithel Dalfrith descended the Wynns of Coed Llai or Leeswood in Flintshire, of which family Sir John Wynn of Leeswood, Baronet, the last heir male died in the latter half of the 18th century. From David Goch, of Penllech, ap Trahaern Goch of Lleyn, descended the Griffiths of Cefn Amwlch, in Carnarvonshire, of which family the male line ended with John Griffith of Cefn Amwlch, Esqr. (Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1765, son of William Griffith of Cefn Amwlch, Esqr. by his wife Sidney, daughter of Cadwalader Wynne of Voelas, Esqr.), at whose death Cefn Amwlch was left to his maternal relatives, the Wynnes of Voelas, now represented by Lieut. Col. Charles Wynne Finch. The family of Williams of Llandegwning was also descended from David Goch, of Penllech, of which the male line ended with Griffith Williams of Llandegwning, Esqr. who died in 1745, when the property and representation of the family devolved upon his sister Elinor wife of William Wynne of Wern, in the county of Carnarvon, Esqr., now represented by her great grandson W. W. E. Wynne, Esq. of Peniarth. From the same David Goch of Penllech descended also a family, which assumed from its share of inheritance the local name of Carreg. It is still extant in the male line, and is (1876) represented by Robert Carreg, Esq., of Carreg, the present Sheriff for the county of Carnarvon.

fealty of the said King, and that he never defaulted or committed any crime against the King for which his lands and tenements ought to be forfeited. They further reported that the same Llewelyn never remitted or quit-claimed to the King or to any one else his right to the aforesaid castle and commot, neither did he in any way alter his position with regard to them; and that Gilbert Talbot is his cousin and nearest heir. The aforesaid castle and commot are held of the King *in capite* by the service of doing suit at the King's court of Carmarthen, and their annual value is about 50 marks.¹ It is recorded that John the son of John de Wilteshire, who then had custody of the said castle and commot for the King, was present at the taking of this inquisition.

Gilbert Talbot, at whose instance the inquisition had been taken, came before the King and sought that justice might be done to him according to the tenor of the verdict.

It appears however that, instead of restoring the lands and castle to the heirs of Llewelyn, the King bestowed them in the following year upon John de Wylynton and Ralph his son, and Alianore wife of Ralph, with remainder to the heirs of the body of Ralph, as lands which had been forfeited by John Mautravers, the King's enemy and rebel. Whereupon Gilbert Talbot complained to the King and his council that the King had given away those lands in contravention of his (Gilbert's) rights, notwithstanding the verdict pronounced at the Inquisition which had been held at the King's command.

The tenor of his petition is as follows,

A nostre Seigneur le Roi & a son consail prie Gilbert Talbot que come il ad suy par petition a nostre Seigneur le Roi & a son bon consayl pur Son droit del commot de Iskennen a del chastel de Carnkenny par quele peticion graunte lui fust denquere de son droit quele enqueste fust prise devaunt Mons. William de Sharesnull & autres & retourne en la Chauncellerye Et ore de nouel nostre Seigneur le Roi ad done les avantditz chastel & commot a Sire Johan de Wylyngton & a Rauf son fitz & a Alyanore la femme Rauf en arrerysement de la suyte & du droit le dist Gilbert De quei il prie remedie & que les

¹ Extracts from *Coram Rege* Roll Trin. T. 12 Edw. III, Ro. 23 d.

avaunt ditz chastel & commot soient repris en la meyn nostre Seigneur le Roi taunq. droit soit fait & que la chre du don soit repelle

The King now gives orders to the chancellor to search the rolls and records preserved in the court of chancery for deeds relating to the petition of the said Gilbert in answer to which it had been conceded to him that enquiry should be made as to his right to the said castle and commot, and also relating to the date and form of the King's grant to John, Ralph and Alianore de Welyngton.

In due time the chancellor certifies that he has caused the search to be made, and he sends to the King the tenor of the said King's charter to the said John, Ralph and Alianore, and also the tenor of certain other charters, by one of which it appears that Resus Vaghan had forfeited his lands to King Edward the grandfather of the present King. Then follows the charter, dated at Westminster on December 19, 1337, by which King Edward III gave to John de Wylynton and Ralph his son and Alianore his wife &c. the castle of Keyrkenny, which belonged to John de Mautravers the King's enemy and rebel, together with the commot of Iskinny. Also a charter dated at Hereford on November 18, 1283, by which King Edward I gave to John Giffard of Brimmesfeld the commot of Hyskennyn to hold to him and his heirs for ever; and another charter, dated at Salop on June 2, 1282, by which the said King Edward I conceded to the same John Giffard, of Brimmesfeld, and his heirs for ever, the castle of Landevery, which belonged to Res Vaghan the King's enemy.

These transactions are recorded in the *Coram Rege* Roll of Trinity Term 1338.¹

In Hilary Term, 1345, we find Gilbert Talbot renewing his claim to the lands of his cousin Lewelin ap Res, *whose heir he is*. It is then recorded that Gilbert Talbot on a former occasion in this court (King's bench) sought against Ralph de Wylynton and Alianor his wife the castle of Keirkenny and the commot of Iskenney, of which Lewelin ap Res Vaghan, kinsman to the said Gilbert, whose heir Gilbert is, was seized on

¹ Plac. Coram Rege Trin. Term. 12 Edw. III. Ro. 23 d.

the day that he died. Lewelin was seized in the time of King Edward I. From him, because he died without heir, the fee reverted to Wenthlian his aunt and heir, sister of Res the father of Lewelin. From Wenthlian it descended to Richard her son and heir, and from Richard to Gilbert the present plaintiff. Nor is this descent disputed, although the lands were pronounced to be past recovery because they had been united to the crown by act of parliament.¹

It would seem that Talbot's claim was eventually bought up by the Earl of Lancaster, for on August 1, 1362, by deed dated at Westminster, Sir Gilbert Talbot (grandson of the above-mentioned Gilbert), Res ap Howel ap Willym and Walter ap Jevan ap Lewelyn conceded and released to John, Earl of Lancaster, and Blanche his wife, the castle of Carreckemyn and the commot of Iskennyn together with the mills, parks, woods, moors, fields, meadows, pastures, natives and their services, and all other appurtenances thereto belonging, to have and to hold to them and the heirs of their bodies with remainder to the right heirs of the said Earl for ever, to which are witnesses Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Robert de Thorp (&) John de Moubray the King's Justices *in communi Banco*, Res ap Griffith and Richard de la Bere, Knights, David de Wellore (&) Walter Power, clerks, and many others.²

In respect of the marriage implied above the descendants of Gilbert Talbot and Gwenllian (Verch Res Mechyll) relinquished their paternal arms, viz. *Bendy of ten pieces, argent and gules, and bore a lion rampant or, in a field gules, with a bordure engrailed of the first*; which were the arms of the said Res and his ancestors, Princes of South Wales.³

If we allow the claim of the Talbots, the legitimate male line of Res Mechyll ap Res Grig must have ended with Res Wendot and his brothers, and we may consider this branch of the family to have been subsequently

¹ Placita de Banco Hil. Term. 19 Edw. III, m. 132 d. ² Rot. Claus. 36 Edw. III, m. 18 dorso. I cannot identify the Res ap Howel and Walter ap Jevan who joined Gilbert Talbot in this release. They may possibly have been the illegitimate descendants (grandson and great grandson?) of Llewelyn ap Res, or they may have been descendants of a sister or sisters of Wenthlian Talbot who would thus have been coheirs with Gilbert Talbot to the lands of Llewelyn ap Res; or perhaps they may have been feoffees of either the Talbots or the Welyntons. ³ Collins' Peerage, ex coll. R. Glover, Somers. See also p. 100.

represented by the Earls of Shrewsbury, the lineal male descendants of Sir Gilbert Talbot and Wentilian, until the death of Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G. in 1616, whose daughter and eventual sole heiress Alatheia married Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. On the death of Edward Howard, 9th Duke of Norfolk, in 1777, the Barony of Talbot and other Baronies in fee fell into abeyance between the two daughters and coheirs of his brother Philip Howard, Esq.; namely Winifrede, who married William, 15th Lord Stourton; and Anne who married Edward, 9th Lord Petre, in whose heirs, the present Lords Stourton and Petre, is vested the representation of this branch of the Princes of South Wales.

(II) MEREDITH AP RES GRIG.

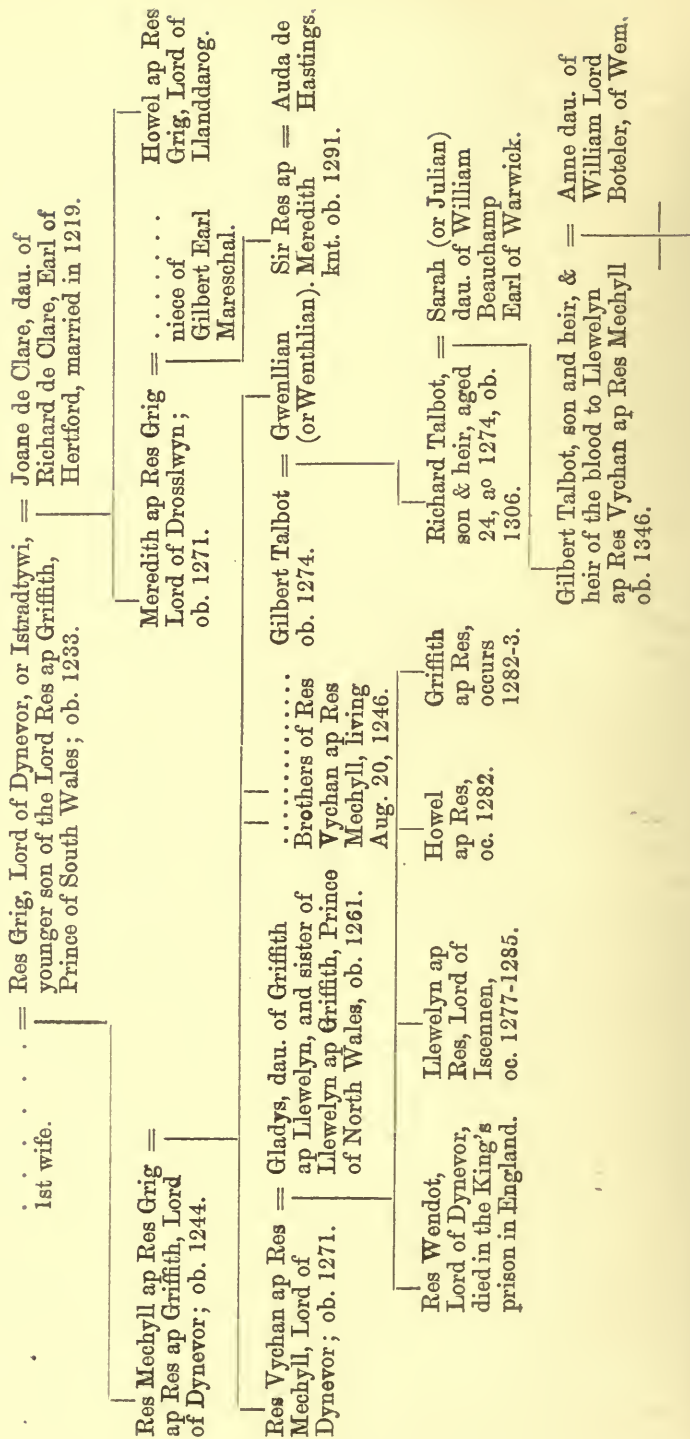
On the death of Res Grig, in 1233, his son Meredith ap Res is said to have shared his father's territory with his elder brother Res Mechyll. Meredith was doubtless born of the 2nd marriage of his father with Joane de Clare. I am unable to say positively what lands he inherited at his father's death, but since he afterwards claimed the land of Ikenn or Iscennen as his *by right of inheritance*, it is probable that he succeeded in the first instance to that commot with the castle of Droslyn, and perhaps also to the commots of Pertith (Derfedd) and Hyrvrin, which together formed the cantrev Bychan or ffiniog (according to whichever of the two divisions of Carmarthen we adopt).

In the year 1257 he was in possession of all these lands as well as the northern commot of Cao the northern portion of Mathlaen and the lordships called Maenor Lonsawil and Maenor inter Turth & Kothy in the cantrev Mawr,—besides which he held certain lands in Dyvet or West Wales, namely the commot of Emlyn with the New Castle, and the commot of Estrolaf, which he held of the Earl of Pembroke.

The King's charter, of October 1257, confirms to him all the said lands, which he then held, and further concedes to him all the lands of his nephew Res Vychan ap Res Mechyll; of which last, however, he never acquired possession. Indeed he seems to have afterwards lost to

TABLE III.

DESCENDANTS OF RES GRIG.



his nephew some portion of the lands which he held in 1257; and it is probable that a fresh division of territory was made between them after the peace of 1267.

From an inquisition, taken at Carmarthen in June 1288, we learn how he became possessed of his lands in Dyvet. It appears, from this inquest, that a certain Canan ap Howell¹ was formerly lord of the commot of Oisterlof and the commot of Emelyn which he held of the King. After which Walter Marscall' in the name of Earl Gilbert his brother came with the King's army to Carmarthen and found the aforesaid Canan at war against the King, and he seized the aforesaid land of Oisterlof and Emelyn to the King's behoof. The said Earl Gilbert afterwards appropriated these two commots to his county of Pembroke and occupied them against the King. And when the said Earl Gilbert Marscall', who was Lord of Pembroke, saw that he could not well retain possession of the said two commots he sold them to Meredith ap Res for 300 marks; so that he should do him service for them at Pembroke; and he afterwards gave to him his niece in marriage, namely the mother of Res ap Meredith. The jury were ignorant by what authority the King gave up or was ejected from the service and suit of the said two commots which were always, and are now, in the District of Carmarthen.²

In the division of the Mareschal inheritance the castle of Cilgerran, and the service of Meredith ap Res Grig for Emlyn came to Eva de Braose, wife of William son and heir of William de Cantilupe, and daughter and coheir of William de Braose of Brecknock and his wife Eve Mareschal.³

From the inquisition above quoted we learn that the wife of Meredith ap Res Grig was a niece of Gilbert Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, but I fail to identify her.⁴

Meredith ap Res died at his castle of Drosllwyn on July 22, 1271, and was succeeded by his son Res ap Meredith. I know not whether he left any other issue.

¹ Canan or Cynan ap Howell was the son of Howell Sais, illegitimate son of the Lord Res ap Griffith. See pp. 52 note, 81, 105, 106, 107. This is the last we hear of Cynan ap Howell Sais. ² Inq. 16 Edw. I, No. 77 (erroneously entered in the printed calendar as 17 Edw. I, No. 45). It appears by an inquisition taken in 27 Edw. I that the New Castle of Emlyn was built by Meredith ap Res (Inq. 27 Edw. I, No. 108; see *Calendarium Genealogicum*). ³ Clark's *Earls of Pembroke*. ⁴ A Pedigree in the Golden Grove MS. says that Meredith ap Res married "Isabel (as R.V.) f. William Marshall,

Res ap Meredith was a man of considerable energy and talent and apparently unshackled by any scruples of conscience. Like his father he never hesitated to espouse the English side in the wars of his time whenever it better served his own purpose to do so; and as the King held out every inducement to tempt him he seldom failed to betray the cause of his country in every time of difficulty and danger.

We have seen that he received considerable grants from the forfeited estates of the other Princes of South Wales during the continuance of the war in 1282. Impatient to take immediate possession of his fresh acquisitions he was not content to await the slow process of the law; but before the King's writ, which had been issued to Robert de Tibetot to put him in seisin, had reached its destination, he proceeded to enter upon the lands on his own authority. Moreover he usurped to himself the territories of Llewelyn ap Owen, the infant son of Owen ap Meredith ap Owen, who, being a minor, was then under the King's guardianship. For these illegal acts he was tried and convicted; but he was too useful to Edward at this time to be turned into an enemy, so the King by his charter, dated at Acton Burnel on October 20, 1283, not only granted him a pardon for these transgressions, on the sole condition that he should restore the lands of Llewelyn ap Owen to their rightful owner together with any profits that he might have received from them, but further, of his special grace, conceded to him the privilege of determining and appointing the laws by which those Welshmen should be governed whom he had obtained authority to receive to the King's peace.¹ The honour of knighthood was also conferred upon him

Earl of Pembroke, rather Eva f. Wm. Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and widow to Wm. Bruse." But she could not have been a daughter of Earl William, for then she would have been *sister* to Earl Gilbert, whereas she is stated in the inquisition to be his *niece*. Of the two ladies above mentioned, *Eva* Mareschal married William Lord Braose, of *Bergavenny*, and died about 1240, leaving five daughters by William de Braose as her coheirs, one of whom became the *grandmother of Res ap Meredith's wife*. On the other hand *Isabel* Mareschal, another daughter of Earl William, and sister of Earl Gilbert, married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and had a daughter *Isabel*, who married [William] Lord Braose of *Gower* (Clark's Earls of Pembroke) whom she survived; but William Lord Braose of Gower survived Earl Gilbert Mareschal many years, so that the latter could not have disposed of his widow in marriage.

¹ Rym. Fæd., an. 11 Edw. I.

in acknowledgement of the eminent services which he had rendered to the crown during the late war.

When peace was restored Sir Res ap Meredith sought to strengthen his English connection by a matrimonial alliance with Auda (or Ada) de Hastings, the daughter of an English Baronial family. But since they happened to be within the prohibited degrees of relationship towards each other, namely in the third degree on the one part and in the fourth degree on the other, it was necessary that a Dispensation should be obtained from the Pope before the marriage could be solemnized. A Dispensation was accordingly sought on the plea that such a marriage was calculated to put an end to the enmities and reprisals which had long subsisted and still continued between the said Res on the one hand and the family of the said Auda on the other. The papal licence for the contraction of the marriage, which was granted at the petition of the said Res and Auda, supported by the request of the English King, was dated from the Ancient City *iv. idus Decembris*, in the third year of the pontificate of Pope Martin IV (i.e. Dec. 10, 1283). It was directed to Thomas Lord Bishop of St. David's, and received by him at Landegoe on the Feast of the holy martyrs St. John and St. Paul (June 26) 1284, as certified by his letters patent.¹

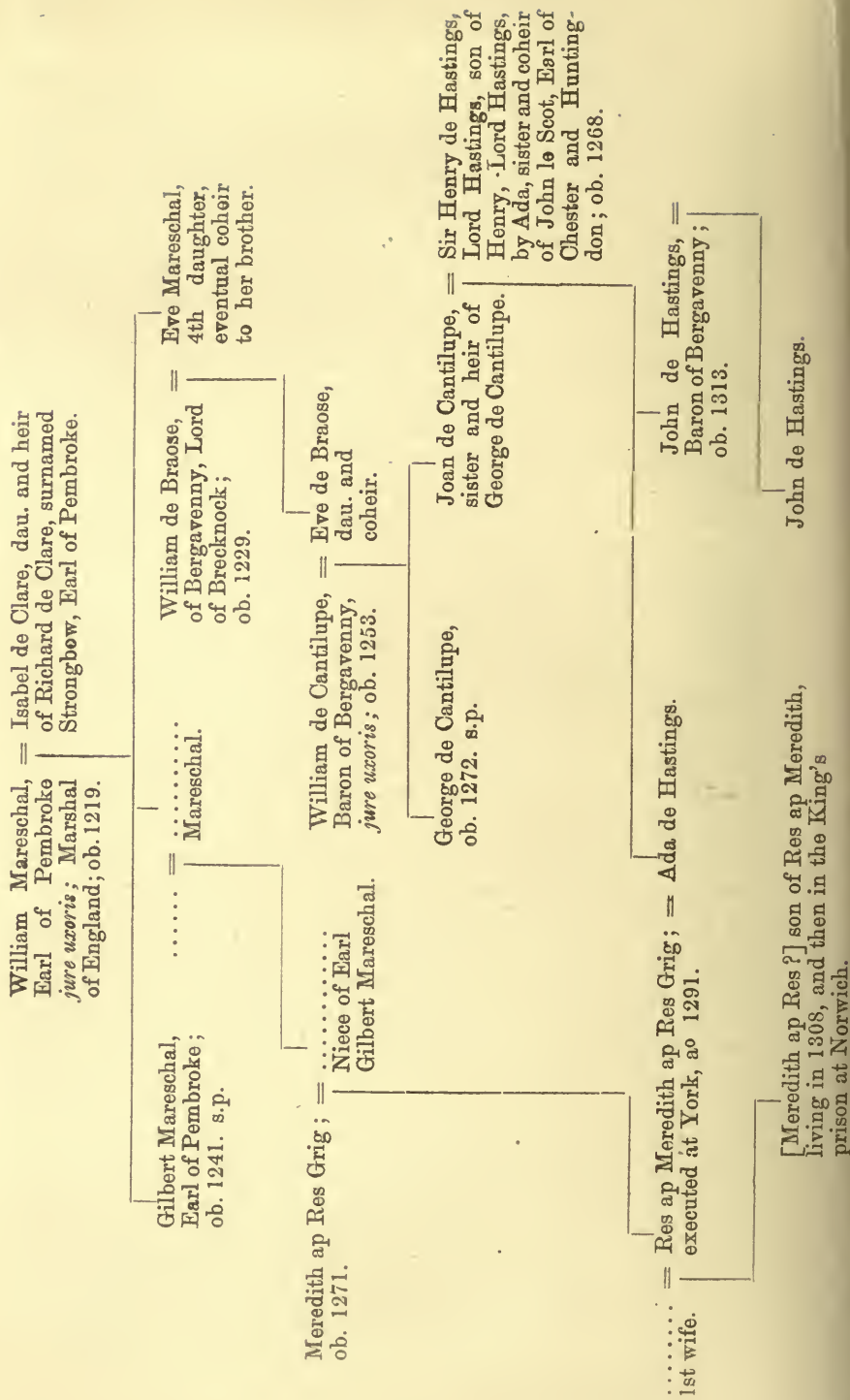
The relationship which previously existed between them will best be shewn by the annexed Table.

I presume that they were married in the following year; for by deed enrolled in chancery on June 7, 1285, Res ap Meredith conceded to Auda de Hastings his whole land of Osterlof with the appurtenances and the whole land of Mabwynneon with the appurtenances to have and to hold for the term of her life of him and his heirs, with the exception of a hundred *solidates* of land in the vill of Estrath in the commot of Mabwenneon which he reserves to himself and his heirs, so that the said land of Osterlof and Mabwynneon should revert to him and his heirs immediately after the death of the said Auda: and in the event of a marriage being contracted between them she is to claim nothing else from his heirs, in the name of dower or of her third portion, but the said land of

¹ Rym. Fæd.

TABLE III. (a).

SHEWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RES AND ADA DE HASTINGS.



Osterlof and Mabwynneon for the term of her life. To this deed are witnesses E. Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Lord Bishop of St. David's, the Lord Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, the Lord William de Valence, the Lord John Earl Warren, the Lord Robert de Valle, the Lord Ralph Gnet (Griet?), William de Cantinton, Lewelin ab Res, David Abbe Moris, Eyner Clerk, and many others. And on the same day the aforesaid Res delivered into the King's hands the said commot of Mabwynneon to the use of the said Auda for her life in the event of a marriage being had between them, so that after her death the said commot should revert to the said Res and his heirs.¹

By deed, without date, preserved among the Welsh Rolls of the same year, John de Hastings concedes to Res ap Meredith his whole land of St. Clare, Augoy, and Pennuliok, with their appurtenances, in frank marriage with Auda his sister to have and to hold to them and their heirs, lawfully begotten, of the chief Lord of the fee; so that if the said Auda should die without issue by the said Res the whole of the aforesaid land should revert to the said John de Hastings and his heirs after the death of the said Auda: but if the said Res should have lawful issue by the said Auda, although that offspring should die, he concedes that the said land should remain to the said Res for the term of his life, and afterwards revert to the said John and his heirs.²

On June 12 of the same year, 1285, Res ap Meredith had a charter to him and his heirs to hold a weekly market on Thursdays at his manor of Lampeter in the *County* of Cardigan, and an annual fair for three days, namely on the vigil, the day, and the morrow of the Feast of St. Dyonisius the Martyr.³

King Edward had employed the previous year in securing and settling his new conquests. The castles of North Wales were armed and strengthened, and by the *Statutum Wallie* the English law of inheritance was introduced into Wales, allowing dowers to widows, and shutting out bastards, who seem to have previously been admitted to the privileges of legitimacy, and on the

¹ Rot. Wall., 13 Edw. I, m. 3. d. ² Ibid. This is a capital instance of the settlement "by courtesy of England" as it was technically called. ³ Chart. Rot. 13 Edw. I, No. 65.

failure of male heirs permitting females to inherit. He also sanctioned the custom of the country, by which lands were divisible among male heirs.

Having thus settled the affairs of Wales and bestowed some attention on English affairs, Edward went abroad in May, 1286, leaving the Earl of Pembroke Regent of the kingdom.¹

After this we hear no more of Res ap Meredith as a loyal subject to the English King. Having served him in all these wars and contributed more than any one else to the final subjugation of his country he expected to receive all the confiscated estates of his kinsmen, but when the war was concluded, he received little but fair promises, while the larger portion of the forfeited lands of the Welshmen were bestowed upon Englishmen. Thus disappointed of his expectations his fidelity cooled, and he was ready to take advantage of the growing discontent among his countrymen, who were greatly dissatisfied with the new system of laws which had been imposed upon them.

At this juncture, in the year 1287, he was cited, with the rest of his countrymen, to appear in the county courts, by Robert de Tibetot, the King's Justiciary of Caermarthen, and Alan de Plugenet the King's Steward in Wales. Incensed with this summons he refused to attend, alleging, for an excuse, the King's promises and his own ancient liberties and privileges; but the King's officers proceeded against him according to the law; whereupon a great variance arose between Robert de Tibetot and Res ap Meredith "so that sundrie skirmishes were foughten betwixt them and men slaine on both sides, to the great disturbance of the countrie."²

On May 20, 1287, Ralph de Hengham and others were appointed to enquire into the transgressions made by Res ap Meredith in the county of Carmarthen;³ and the King, who was at this time absent from the realm, being informed of the quarrels which had arisen in Wales between his ministers and Sir Res ap Meredith, wrote to the latter commanding him to keep the peace and

¹ Clark's Earls of Pembroke. ² Powel and Warrington. Powel says that the quarrel arose between *Payne* Tiftoft (or Tibetot) and Res ap Meredith. Payne was the son and successor of Robert. ³ Rot. Wall. 15 Edw. I, m. 10. (Ayloffe's Calendar).

promising that, on his return, the evils he complained of should be redressed and that all reasonable justice should be done to him.¹ But Res, having already waited sufficiently upon the King's promises and being now in a favourable condition to take the offensive, seized the castles of Llandovery, Dynevor, and Carregcennen on (or about) the Sunday next before the Feast of St. Barnabas (June 8, 1287); and afterwards (on the 27th of the same month) he wasted by fire the vill of Sweynese (Swansea) and the manor of Osterlof with the greater part of the country, as also the vill of Llanpadarn Vawr and the vill of Caermarthen up to the gates of the town.²

Orders from the court at Westminster with respect to the Welsh Prince now followed fast and thick. On June 15 Roger l'Estrange was ordered to proceed into Wales to repress the rebellion of Res ap Meredith.³ On July 2 directions were given to receive to the King's peace the Welshmen who had joined the insurrection;⁴ and orders were issued, on the same day, to the King's officers in those parts, to take into the King's hands the lands and tenements of Res ap Meredith the King's rebel.⁵ On July 5 a reward of a hundred pounds was put upon his head.⁶ On July 16 fresh directions were given to receive to the King's peace the Welshmen of Stradenwy (Ystradtywi) who had joined the insurrection;⁷ and to take into the King's hands the lands and tenements which were occupied by Res ap Meredith to whomsoever they might belong.⁸

The rebellion⁹ had now reached such a height as to

¹ Powel's Hist. ² *Annales Cambriæ*, compared with a contemporary (Glamorganshire) Chronicle annexed to the MS. Exchequer Domesday at the Public Record office (Arch. Camb. 3rd series viii. 281) and *Annales Wigorniae*, in which last (*sub anno* 1287) it is recorded as follows, "Quinto idus Junii Res ab Meraduc, non ferens injurias a ministris regis sibi et aliis illatas, tria castra prostravit et constabularios cum omnibus aliis interfecit;" and in the Glamorganshire Chronicle it is thus recorded, "ao mcccxxxvijo Resus filius Mereduti cepit castrum de Dinevor in festo Viti et Modesti (June 15), et hoc anno iiii idus Junii villam de Sweynese combussit et pœdavit, et v kalendas Julii (June 27) castrum de Ostremew cepit et incendit." ³ & ⁴ Rot. Wall. 15 Edw. I, m. 10 (Ayloffe's Calendar). ⁵—⁸ Rot. Wall. 15 Edw. I, m. 10 (Ayloffe's Calendar). ⁹ The account of this Welsh insurrection is thus given in the Metrical Chronicle of Peter de Langtoft (Record Edition, p. 185, *sub annis* 1286-9).

"Rees Amyraduk, I don't know what ailed him,
Began to slay the King's people in Wales
Nevertheless the cry arose at first
That the Tybetoft aggrieved him with wrong.
The King received the complaint, and sent notice to Rees,
That he remain in peace, and when he returns,

make it necessary for the Earl of Cornwall to come in person into Wales; and with the intention of attacking the enemy in several quarters at the same time he summoned the military tenants of the crown to meet at Gloucester, Llanbadarn Vawr, and Monmouth, prepared to march under his own command or that of the Earl of Gloucester.

On July 23 orders were sent from Hereford to the men of the county of Chester to march towards West Wales

The King in good faith would listen to his complaints,
And would do him justice in every thing.
Rees Amyraduk, like a fool, set at nought
The King's injunction; what evil he could
He did through the land, he spared nobody;
He caused to be slain every one he could overcome
Who avowed himself for Sir Edward.

.....
Rees Ameraduk going skulking about, A° 1290
In Wales this same year was taken through a spy.
When the King heard tell of it, he orders that they bind him,
And carry him to York to the justices,
Where first he was drawn for his felony,
And then hanged as a thief; henceforward there is none alive
Who carries the inheritance of his succession."

In Robert of Brunne's version of the Langtoft Chronicle it is thus given;

"To while Sir Edward gos to Gascoyn forto apese,
Wales to werre up ros, thorgh conseile of a Rese.
On Reseamiraduk, of Wales a lordyng,
Our Inglis did rebuk, and werred on our kyng.
I kan not telle yow whi that werre was reised olofte,
Men said the wrath and cri com thorgh the lorde Tiptofte.
The kyng herd that pleynt, unto the Rese he sent
A letter enselid fulle quaynt, for the pes it ment.
He praied to hold him stille, tille his tocome mot be,
And he suld do his wille, in all that skille mot se.
His pleyntes he wild here in skille at lordes sight,
And if he baron were, he suld haf fulle gode right.
This Rese amiraduk, als fole and unwise,
His letter gan rebuk, sette it at light prise.
The skathe that he myght do with slaughter or prison hard,
All he brouht tham to, that longed tille Edward.
A thousand and two hundred the date forscore and nine,
On our men thei wondred, in Wales did tham pyne.
Whan Edward had been in Gascoyn thre yere,
Ageyn he and the queene on lond ryved up here.
At his comyng he fond of clerkes and men of pleynt,
And justice of the lond of falsnes was atteynt.

.....
The Rese Ameridie was taken that ilk yere,
In Wales thorgh a spie, for all his powere.
Whan the kyng herd it seie, to York he did him lede,
Schames dede to deie, als traytour for his dede. .
First was he drawn for his felonie,
And as a thefe than slawen, on galwes hanged hie.
Now is non of age of his ancestrie
May haf his heritage, to whom it salle alie."

for the suppression of the rebellion;¹ and authority was given to Gilbert de Clare (Earl of Gloucester) to receive to the King's peace the Welshmen of West Wales.² On the same day a safe conduct was granted to Thomas Brun, a London poulterer, to carry victuals into West Wales for the use of the King's army.³

By virtue of a commission, bearing date at the same time and place, the Earl of Gloucester was appointed general of the King's forces for the suppression of the rebellion.⁴ But Gloucester, being nearly related to Res ap Meredith, seems to have secretly favoured his cause and taken no active measures against him.

The Earl of Cornwall now took the command himself, and having entered Wales with a great army, he drove Sir Res to his fastnesses, and about the 1st of August⁵ laid siege to his castle of Drosslwyn, which soon fell into his hands. The English suffered great loss on this occasion by the falling in of the walls which they were undermining, whereby the lord William de Munchensy and many other knights and esquires were bruised to death.⁶ The New castle on the Teyvi (or Newcastle Emlyn), which had been built by his father Meredith ap Res, was shortly afterwards taken, and those castles recovered by the English which had previously been occupied by Res, while Res himself escaped with only a few of his followers.⁷

On September 24 the custody of the castle of Drosselan, together with the commots of Cathenon, Mathlayen, Cayow, Mabelwith, Mabederith, and Maynerdoylowe, and all their appurtenances, was committed to Alan Plogenet to hold during the King's pleasure.⁸

Little, however, was accomplished by this expedition into Wales owing to the inactivity of the Earl of Gloucester, so that Cornwall, being unable to complete his conquest, was obliged to retire for the winter and grant a truce to Sir Res ap Meredith.⁹

No sooner had the Regent reached Westminster than the faithless chieftain renewed hostilities, and on Sunday, the morrow of All Saints (i.e. Nov. 2), he recovered by a

1, 2, & 3 Rot. Wall. 15 Edw. I. m. 10 (Ayloffe's calendar). 4 Ibid m. 9. 5 *Circa gulam Augusti* (Annales Cambriæ). 6 Nic. Trivetii Annales, Annales Cambriæ, Annales de Waverleia, &c. 7 Annales Cambriæ. 8 Abbreviatio Rot. orig. 15 Edw. I. 9 Warrington's Hist.

night assault his castle which is called New castle and took prisoner Roger de Mortimer to whose custody the castle had been committed.¹

Fresh measures were immediately taken to put down the insurrection. On November 14 letters were sent to Edmund de Mortimer, Roger de Mortimer, Peter Corbet, Roger l'Estrange, Fulk Fitzwarin, John l'Estrange, Geffrey de Camvill, William Martyn, Guy de Briene, Owen de la Pole, and others of the King's faithful subjects in those parts, which, after reciting the evils committed by Res ap Meredith and his re-occupation of the King's castle of Emelyn, commanded them to remain in their manors and lands adjacent to West Wales during the winter.² At the same time Gilbert de Clare was ordered to go in person to the castles adjacent to West Wales for the purpose of crushing the rebellion.³ And on November 28 orders were given to fortify the King's castles in Wales for the more effectual repression of the depredations of Res and his followers.⁴

On December 5 orders were issued, from Westminster, to receive to the King's favour and peace the Welshmen of Cantrev Bychan; and Humfrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex (to whose custody the commot of Pertiet and the lands of Iskenny and Hyrwryn had been committed on the 5th of the previous month) and Edmund de Mortimer were appointed captains and castellans of Stretidenwy (Istradtywi) and Cardiganshire.⁵

The New castle was retaken by Robert de Tibetot about the feast of the Purification (February 2, 1288), when many of the garrison were put to death.⁶ And orders were issued, from Westminster, on February 8, to guard securely the hostages, whose names were sent in a certain schedule to Alan Plogenet the constable of Drosan castle.⁷ At the same time William de Breus (Braose) was commanded not to receive the rebel Res ap Meredith or his accomplices into his territories of Gower, Kedewelly, or Karwathlan;⁸ and strict guard was

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*. ² *Rym. Fæd.* ³ *Rot. Wall.* 15 Edw. I, m. 8. dorso. (*Ayloffe's Calendar*; it is here however ascribed, erroneously as I believe, to the year 14 Edw. I.).

⁴ *Rot. Wall.* (*Ayloffe's Calendar*). ⁵ *Rot. Wall.* 16 Edw. I, m. 8. (*Ayloffe's Calendar*).

⁶ *Annales Cambriæ*. ⁷ & ⁸ *Rot. Wall. Schedula explicit* (*Ayloffe's Calendar*, where these transactions are attributed to 17 Edw. I, but I have little doubt that they should be ascribed to the year 16 Edw. I.).

ordered to be kept along the sea coast of the bailiwick of William de Grandison, then lieutenant of the Justiciary, to prevent his escape into Ireland.¹

Res now found his own country too hot for him, but he found refuge in the territory of the Earl of Gloucester, by whose assistance he was enabled to escape into Ireland.²

In the following June, at an inquisition taken at Carmarthen on the Monday next before the Feast of St. Barnabas, 1288, (which has already been quoted) the jury virtually found that Res ap Meredith had held the commots of Osterlof and Emlyn by no valid title.³ We have seen that his other possessions had been granted, in 1286-7, to Alan Plugenet to hold during the King's pleasure. On July 13, 1290, the towns, castles, and all the lands of Res ap Meredith, the King's rebel in Wales, which were then in the King's custody by reason of his forfeiture, were granted to Robert de Tibetot, to hold until the Feast of Easter next ensuing and for four years after, so that he should receive the profits thereof in discharge of certain debts which were owed to him by the King, on condition that he should cause the said castles and lands to be safely guarded.⁴

Res having remained for a year or two in Ireland, suddenly reappeared in South Wales about the year 1290, and having raised a new insurrection he was opposed by Robert de Tibetot, the King's justiciary, with such troops as he could hastily collect for the purpose. A pitched battle ensued in which the English were victorious. Four thousand Welshmen were slain and Res ap Meredith was taken prisoner. He was tried at York soon after Michaelmas, 1291,⁵ and there cruelly executed being first drawn at the tails of horses and afterwards hanged and quartered.

¹ Rot. Wall. *Schedula* explicit (Ayloffe's Calendar; see previous note).
² Warrington's Hist. ³ Inq. 16 Edw. I, No. 77 (in printed calendar 17 Edw. I, No. 45); See page 187. ⁴ Rot. Wall. 18 Edw. I, but having reference to the previous year, 17 Edw. I. (Rym. Fæd.) ⁵ There is some discrepancy between the historians as to the date of the capture and death of Res ap Meredith. The writers of the Dunstaple and Worcester Annals place it in 1292, and the Chronicle annexed to the Exchequer Domesday gives the actual day on which he was taken prisoner, namely *iiiij nonas Aprilis* (April 2), 1292. But Nicholas Trivet and Will. Rishanger agree in saying that the trial of Res took place at York when the King was there for a short time on his journey back to Scotland, after attending the funeral of the Queen Mother at Ambresbury. Now the Queen Mother was buried at Ambresbury in September, 1291, (Annales de Osneia; Sandford's Genealogical History); and the King started again for Scotland after Michaelmas in that year.

Thus ended the career of Sir Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig.

It does not appear that he had any children by his wife Auda de Hastings. He must have been between 40 and 50 years of age at the time of his marriage with her, and I suppose that she was dead in 2 Edw. II (1308-9), when John de Hastings (her brother) had license to enfeof other parties in Amgoyte manor, Pulinoke manor, and the lands of St. Clare;¹ which estates had been previously settled upon Auda and her children by Sir Res ap Meredith, with reversion to John de Hastings and his heirs.

Some of his other lands were afterwards claimed by John de Hastings (the nephew of Auda), but the right of De Hastings to these will have been derived from his grandmother Joan, co-heiress of the Earls of Pembroke, as an escheat to the chief Lord. On the petition of the said John de Hastings the King's writ to enquire into his rights was issued, under the great seal, to Roger de Mortimer, of Chirk, Justiciar of Wales, on Dec. 4, 1318. The answer was returned to the King, on May 6, 1319, in the Parliament opened at York on Easter Day in the 12th year of King Edward II, by the said Justiciar, who certified that "a certain Gilbert Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, gave the commot of Emelyn super Cuth, with the appurtenances, to a certain Meredith ap Res Creck, for his homage and service, to hold to himself and his heirs lawfully begotten, of the said Earl and his heirs; which Meredith afterwards built the New Castle of Emelyn-super-Cuth. And afterwards the said Gilbert died without issue, and all his lands and tenements descended to his five sisters; of whom one, named Eva, married William de Breousa, by whom she had three daughters, of whom one, named Eva, married William de Canteleu (Cantilupe) to whom fell the land and castle of Kilgarran and the homage and service of the said Meredith ap Res Creck for the afore-said land of Emelyn-super-Cuth. By this Eva the said William de Canteleu had a son George de Canteleu and Joan his sister, which George died without issue and the right and inheritance descended to the said Joan, the mother of John de Hastings, father of the present John de Hastings. And afterwards Res ap Meredith, son of

¹ Cal. Inq. a. q. d. 2 Edw. II, No. 79.

the aforesaid Meredith ap Res Creck succeeded his father and held the aforesaid castle and land of Emelyn-super-Cuth of the aforesaid John Hastings Lord of Kilgarran, son of the aforesaid Joan, for his homage and service. Which same Res ap Meredith went to war against King Edward, father of the present King Edward, in contravention of the peace, and forfeited all his land. So that the aforesaid castle and land of Emelyn-super-Cuth was taken into the hands of the said King Edward by reason of the forfeiture of the said Res, and thus it is now in the King's hands. The aforesaid John de Hastings, father of the present John de Hastings, was never seized of the aforesaid castle and lands through the forfeiture of the aforesaid Res, but he was then in the said King's army in those parts with Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the said King's Lieutenant, and he constantly claimed to have the aforesaid castle and lands delivered over to him as his right."¹

Though Res ap Meredith does not appear to have had any children by his wife Auda de Hastings, he may possibly have had a son by a former wife; for if we may trust to the Carmarthen Chartulary, a certain Meredith ap Res, son of Res ap Meredith, for the health of his own soul and those of his ancestors and heirs, gave to the Prior and Convent of St. John the Evangelist and St. Theulacus, of Carmarthen, the advowson of the church of Ebernant, with the chapel of Conwell pertaining to it, together with the whole sanctuary and certain liberties, easements and rights of common, in his wood, pastures, fisheries, and turbaries, which said sanctuary extends from Fouanwen to the River Henlan, and from Henllan to Pencam, and from Pencam to the highway over the mountain which leads towards Talvan, as also three acres of land in Haraodgudan-juxta-Cowen, and one acre of land near the burial ground of the aforesaid church, in the name of Glebe, with all other rights and appurtenances belonging to the said church, for ever, as freely as any alms can possibly be given. And because he knew of no house or person on whom the said church could be better or more opportunely bestowed for the health of his

¹ Documents illustrative of English History selected from the records (MS. A^o 1844) Salt Library, Stafford.

soul and those of his ancestors and heirs than the said Prior, who has suffered such and so many losses by war at the hands of the King's enemies, he will warrant (to the said Prior) the said church with all its appurtenances against all men. This charter was attested by the Lord Robert Tupetot, then Justiciary of West Wales, Geoffrey de Camvyle, William de Camvyle, Baldwin de Maneres, Thom. de Rupe, Walter de Petirton, then Constable, John Laundry, Thom. fitz William, Thom. the clerk, and many others.¹

Supposing this Meredith ap Res to have been the son of Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig, and supposing him to have been taken prisoner during the war waged by Res ap Meredith, his father, against the King, we may imagine the grant to have been obtained from him about the year 1290, before he was removed from Wales. It might, perhaps, have been granted under a promise from the monks that they would intercede with the King on his behalf. As his father was then living, however, and he was himself in captivity at the time, they could hardly have believed the gift to be good in law (even supposing the grantor to have inherited the lands from his mother). But it may have served as a pretext for their claim to the property, which was, in fact, afterwards confirmed to them by the King.²

¹ Caermarthen Chartulary, privately printed for the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Baronet, (compared with the MS. copy of the Chartulary, at Peniarth, from which it was printed). ² These monks had had, nearly a century before, a charter from William de Braose, wherein it is recited that when Meredith ap Res (*Mereduth fil. Riei*) had seditiously burned the town of Caermarthen and the land of the Prior of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist and St. Theulacus of Caermarthen, having taken booty from the said Prior and killed many of his men, the whole of the said Meredith's land was, in the King's court adjudicated to him (the King) on account of that transgression: and the church of Ebernant, the patronage of which belonged to Meredith, happened at that time to be vacant: and whereas the aforesaid Prior had sustained so many losses at the hands of the said Meredith and other Welshmen, William de Braose, then Bailiff of Caermarthen, moved by piety and for the welfare of the souls of King H. and his son Richard, with the counsel and assent of the Lord H. Archbishop of Canterbury, then the King's Justiciary, gave and conceded to God and St. Mary and the Prior of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist and St. Theulacus, the church of Ebernant then vacant, with the chapel belonging to it, and all the appurtenances in pure and perpetual alms, because (ex quo) the Archbishop and he knew not to what House or person that church could be more usefully or opportunely given for the health of the souls of the aforesaid Kings than the said Prior who had suffered such and so many losses at the hands of the aforesaid Meredith and other the King's enemies. And because he (the said William de Braose) wished that those who succeeded him as Bailiffs of Caermarthen should not interfere with the said gift but that it should remain firm and unshaken for ever (therefore) the said Archbishop confirmed the deed with his own seal, to which are witnesses William and Philip, the sons of William de Braose, and Philip de Braose his uncle, William de Cobotom (and) Robert de Burchall, Knights, Symon Cokus, then Constable, Adam, William, Robert (and) Richard, Chaplains, Bedmor, Alexander, Nicholas, John

In King Edward's charter, which was dated at Westminster on May 15, 1290, it is stated that whereas Meredith ap Res, the son of Res ap Meredith, being, as it is said, in the King's prison by reason of the transgressions he had made, had given, conceded, and confirmed, to God and the church of St. John the Apostle and St. Theulacus of Caermarthen, and the canons serving God there, one acre of land adjacent to the cemetery of the church of Ebernant, together with the advowson of the same church of Ebernant and the chapel of Conwell, with all the other appurtenances, which are of the King's fee of Caermarthen, to have and to hold in free and perpetual alms; although the said feoffment cannot be deemed valid, yet the King of his especial grace did nevertheless give and concede to the said canons the said acre of land &c., so that the aforesaid canons should find one of their fraternity to celebrate Divine Service daily for ever in their said church of Carmarthen for the souls of Stephen Bauzan and Richard Giffard and other faithful men who had been slain in those parts in the service of the King or his predecessors.¹

It would seem that the heirs of the Welsh Princes who were taken prisoners in the last wars were afterwards

fitz William, Clerks, Robert fitz Richard Spilmon, and Gilbert, Meyley and Philip, his sons, William Kyng, Daniel, Adam Cafel and Stephen his son, and many others (Caermarthen Chartulary). The transcriber of the Chartulary, probably misled by the recurrence of the name of Meredith ap Res, as the deposed patron of the church of Ebernant, has placed this deed between the charter of *Meredud ap Ric. filii Rici ap Meredith* and the confirmation of the grant by King Edward I in 1290; but there was no H. Archbishop of Canterbury in 1290, nor within 85 years of that date. John Peckham was Archbishop in 1290; and Hubert Walter, the Chancellor Archbishop and Justiciar of England, who acted as a sort of Viceroys in the West, was made Justiciar in 1193 and deposed in 1198, so that the charter of William de Braose must have passed during that interval. The William de Braose of that date, who was Lord of Brecon and Bramber, had sons called William and Philip, and an uncle Philip better known as Philip de Wigornia (ex inf. Rev. R. Eyton); and the only Meredith ap Res that I know of living at that time was a younger son of the great Lord Res ap Griffith, Prince of South Wales. This Meredith ap Res was Lord of Llandovery after his father's death in 1197, and died in 1201 (see page 71), when his lands passed into the hands of his elder brother Griffith. Much of the ancient territory of the Princes of South Wales eventually came into the possession of Sir Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig, who was executed in 1291, but I know not how to account for his son Meredith ap Res being owner of these lands in 1290, unless we suppose him to have inherited a title through his mother, who may possibly have been a descendant of De Braose. Ebernant (or Abernant) is situated about 5 miles W.N.W. of Carmarthen, and the chapel of Convil in Elvet is still (or was until lately) annexed to the church of Abernant.

¹ Carmarthen Chartulary. The question as to whether Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig had a son or not, has a side other than that suggested by the charters as quoted above. Much depends upon the general character of the Caermarthen Chartulary and the faithfulness of the transcript. The testing clause appended to the charter of Meredith ap Res son of Res ap Meredith may possibly have belonged, not to the charter

kept in close custody at a safe distance from the borders of Wales; for on December 4, 1307, the Sheriff of Norfolk has orders from King Edward II, in the first year of his reign, to pay over to Patric de Pollesworth, a prisoner from Scotland, to Res the brother of Malgon, and Griffin his brother, and to the son of Res ap Mereduk, Welshmen, abiding in the King's castle at Norwich, their usual allowances such as they had been accustomed to receive in the time of the late King Edward.¹

These allowances were similarly ordered to be paid to them on May 8, 1308.²

After this date I learn no more of these Welsh prisoners, whom we may suppose to have been a son of Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig, and two sons of Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon. It is probable that they passed the remainder of their lives in the King's prison, and I know of none who claim to be descended from any of these Welsh Princes.

(III) HOWEL AP RES GRIG.

In 1277 Howel ap Res Grig was one of those who remained faithful to Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith, when he was deserted by most of his compatriots. He had made his peace with the King at the commencement of the following year, for, on January 7, 1278, Pain de Chaworth has orders to do no injury to Howel the son of Res Crek or his Men. Howel took part with the rest of his countrymen in the wars of 1282-3, and is mentioned in the *Annales Cambriæ*, by the name of Howel ap Res, brother of Meredith ap Res, as one of those who were taken after the capture of Prince David in 1283 and imprisoned in London. He must have

itself but to some exemplification thereof. King Edward's charter of May 15, 1290, may possibly allude to the imprisonment of the grantor a century before. The charters as here given are certainly open to suspicion, and unless King Edward's charter can be found on the Charter-Rolls we may look upon it as quite possible that the charters were purposely mistranscribed or falsified and that there was no such person as the Meredith ap Res suggested by the chartulary. The mention of a "son of Res ap Mereduk" as a prisoner in the King's castle at Norwich in 1307 is the only other prop for my conjecture that Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig had a son by a former marriage; but the words of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle above quoted would rather seem to imply that he left no children behind him.

1 & 2 Rymer's Fædera.

been an old man at this time, for his father Res Grig died in 1233. His land of Landarak (or Llanddarog in Carmarthenshire), was forfeited in the year 1283, and after this we hear no more of him. I have met with no mention of his children, nor am I aware of any who claim to be descended from him.

RES VYCHAN AP RES AP MAELGON.

There is another line of descendants from the great Lord Res ap Griffith whose position should be explained before we revert to the elder house,—the line namely of Maelgon ap Res, which was represented at the close of the war, in 1283, by Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon. Maelgon, the founder of this line, was the son of Res ap Griffith by Gwervil, daughter of Llewelyn ap Res ap Wardaf Vrych. Though illegitimate by birth he nevertheless succeeded through his own spirit and energy, in securing for himself a portion of his father's territory, of which, indeed, the greater part was at one time under his rule.¹ When he died in 1230, he was probably in possession of all Cardigan Is-Ayron, except the castle, which he had himself delivered over by treaty to the English King. It is probable that he also held the commot of Crewthyn, or else that of Pennarth, which latter may perhaps have been given to him in exchange for Crewthyn.

He was succeeded by his son Maelgon Vychan who, in 1231, recovered the castle of Cardigan from the English, and thus, for a few years became master of the whole of Cardigan Is-Ayron. He seems to have also held the commot of Pennarth, which in 1236 he exchanged with his cousin Meredith ap Owen for that of Mevenyth.

In May 1240 the castle of Cardigan was taken from him by Walter Mareschal, who commanded the forces of his brother Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, and from henceforward this important castle remained, with but slight interruptions, in the hands of the English. We find Maelgon shortly afterwards in treaty with Earl Gilbert,

¹ It was not unusual for illegitimate sons in Wales, when eminent, to share the paternal inheritance with their brothers. There are several inquisitions in the reigns of King Henry and the Edwards in which the jurors speak of it as a common custom in that country.

who, in December of the same year, made him do homage to him for his lands, and at the same time covenanted with him to give his daughter Isabella in marriage to Res the son of Maelgon.¹ About the year 1245 Maelgon made an exchange of lands with Meredith ap Owen, by which the dominion of Meredith was transferred to Is-Ayron and that of Maelgon to Uch-Ayron or the Northern portion of Cardigan.

In 1246 he was dispossessed of his lands by the King's officers and driven into North Wales; and on his submission to the King, in November of the same year, he had two commots only given up to him for his territory. These were in the first instance Geneurglyn and Iscoed; but he was afterwards allowed to exchange the latter for Crewthyn, which would have brought together his reduced dominions. It is highly probable, however, that even these were taken from him again in 1250; and I suspect that he held but little at the time of his death in 1257.

Maelgon Vychan is said to have married Angharad, daughter of Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, by his wife Joan, illegitimate daughter of King John.² His only son Res predeceased him in 1255;³ as did also two of his daughters, namely, Gwenthlian, who died in 1254, leaving by her husband Meredith ap Llewelyn, Lord of Merioneth, an only son and heir, whom I take to have been Llewelyn ap Meredith, Lord of Merioneth in 1257; and Margaret, wife of Owen ap Meredith, Lord of Cedewen, who died

¹ Who this daughter of Earl Gilbert Mareschal was it is difficult to determine. She may, perhaps, have been an illegitimate daughter. If not, she must have died unmarried, or without issue, very shortly after this transaction, for Earl Gilbert died without lawful issue on June 27, 1241. The wife of Res ap Maelgon apparently had her dower assigned to her in the commot of Pennarth and was already dead on the Tuesday next before the Feast of the Purification (Feb. 1) 1290, the date of an extent, taken at Caron before the Abbot of Alba Landa, of the land in Pennarth which had been held by the wife of Res ap Maylgun for term of life by the King's gift. The jury report that there is no manor there, nor the site of a manor or residence, nor any land in demesne; but certain tenants who hold a westwa and a quarter at a fixed rent of £3. 6s. 8d. *per annum*; there is also a watermill of the annual value of 13s. 4d.; and the aforesaid tenants are bound to pay two several sums of 13s. 4d. in lieu of certain other payments. The Pleas of court are worth 15s. *per annum*; the Leyrwyte 5s. and the heriots 6s. 8d. The tenants hold their lands by the service of carrying timber for the repairs of the King's castle, and attending the King's expeditions as often as they are summoned, like others of the same country (Inq. 18 Edw. I, No 56). ² It is not unlikely that he may have received with her some lands in North Wales in frank marriage; and if these lands were restored to him it would account for the close adhesion of his grandson Res ap Maelgon to the Prince of North Wales, unto whom his homage was conceded by the King at the peace of 1277. ³ Brut-y-Tywysogion.

soon after her sister in 1255. Eleanor or Elen another daughter of Maelgon Vychan is said to have married Meredith ap Owen, Lord of Cardigan Uch-Ayron. Maelgon Vychan was succeeded at his death by his grandson Llewelyn ap Res, who was probably a minor at the time of his grandfather's decease, for we do not find his name among the confederate Barons in 1258, when almost all the Welsh magnates entered into confederation with the Barons of Scotland against the English King; nor do we hear any thing of him, except that he died in 1264, and was succeeded by his brother Res Vychan. Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon took a more active part in the stirring events of his time. To him Llewelyn ap Griffith restored the cantrev Penwedic; and we next hear of him about the year 1270, in conjunction with Griffith and Owen the sons of Meredith, recovering from the English the commots of Anhunog, Perveth, and Crewthyn, which had been taken from them after the peace. Commot Perveth was at this time given over to him, and was still in his possession on June 29, 1275. In the summer of 1277 he made his submission to the King through means of Roger Mortimer, and the King received his homage at Worcester, on July 2. Within a month of this time, however, he had to take refuge with (his cousin) Llewelyn ap Griffith in North Wales, for fear of being taken by the English at Llanbadarn; and thereupon the Englishmen took possession of his whole territory. By the treaty of peace which was made with Llewelyn in November of the same year, 1277, the King conceded to Llewelyn for life the homage of certain Barons of North Wales, and with them that of Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, together with the land which he then held; for as to the portion of his land which had been seized by the King or his officers, it was not to be restored to him but to remain for ever in the King's hands.

In the list of grievances that were laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury in November, 1282, at the time of the general out-break which preceded the final conquest of Wales, Llewelyn complains on behalf of his vassal that "whereas it was contained in the form of peace that Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon should retain all the land

which he then had in possession ; yet after the peace was concluded he was spoiled of all his lands of Geneurglyn which he then held, together with the men and cattle thereof." He further complains that " when certain men of Geneurglyn had taken certain goods of some of their neighbours of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the Prince in Meyreon, the King's men of Llanbadarn did take away the said goods out of the land of the Prince from Meyreon." From which I should infer that Res Vychan had only a portion of Geneurglyn in his hands at the time of the peace with Llewelyn in November 1277, and this portion was then reckoned to belong to the land of Meyreon as being held under Llewelyn.

On the octaves of Trinity (June 4) 1279, the Bishop of St. David's had claimed against Res Vychan the advowson of the church of Lampader Vawr. On that day the King recovers the said advowson from the Bishop in the court at Westminster, when the prelate recognizes the King's right to the patronage and avers that he only claimed as against Roes Boghan ap Rees ap Mailgun.

On the breaking out of the last war of Llewelyn and David, namely on March 25, 1282, the whole cantrev Penwedic was once more taken by Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon whilst the other Princes of South Wales were at the same time reconquering their lands; and it was during the period of their transient success that the list of their grievances was laid before the Archbishop who approached them as a Mediator. But the King and his Barons were now too strong for the Welshmen ; and after a brief succession of triumphs which ended in the death of Llewelyn and the capture of his brother David, Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon and the other Princes were taken prisoners in the summer of 1283, and confined in the tower of London.

After this we hear nothing of Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon or his descendants for several years ; but, in 1294, when the Welshmen took up arms to resist the payment of the subsidy which had been granted towards the expenses of the wars in France, the men of West Wales chose for their captains Mailgon Vychan and Canan ap

Meredith,¹ and devastated the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen.

This Maelgon Vychan is called by the Welsh Heralds a son of Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, and these two chieftains would have been the natural leaders of the men of West Wales at this period.

The insurrection commenced about Michaelmas 1294,² when the Welshmen simultaneously rose in three different quarters under different leaders and destroyed the King's castles in Wales. The men of North Wales were led by Madoc ap Llewelyn, a kinsman of the last Prince Llewelyn;³ those of West Wales by Maelgon Vychan and Canan; and in Glamorgan, Morgan ap Meredith,⁴ whose ancestors had been disinherited by the Earls of Gloucester, was acknowledged by the men of those parts as their Lord and reinstated by them in the lands of his ancestors, from which the Earl of Gloucester was driven out.

The revolt was of sufficient importance to oblige the King to postpone his expedition into Gascony and to march at once into Wales with such an army as he could immediately collect. Having written to his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, and Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who were then at Portsmouth with a large army prepared to embark for Gascony, commanding them to join him in Wales with all speed, Edward himself set out from Westminster on the morrow of St. Britius⁵ (Nov. 14) and reached Worcester on Nov. 21, where he heard mass on the Feast of St. Katherine (Nov. 25) and started for Chester on the following day.⁶ The Earl of Lincoln had been encountered and defeated by the Welsh at Denbigh, on the Feast of St. Martin-in-the-winter⁷ (Nov. 11) on his

¹ De rebus in Cambria gestis (Hengwrt MS. No. 225), where Maelgon is rightly described as Maelgon ap Res. The author gives as his authority the "Flores Historiarum." This portion of the Hengwrt MS. No. 225 consists of a series of extracts from original charters and from the writings of early historians concerning affairs in Wales, and is supposed to be in the handwriting of Dr. Powel the historian of Wales. ² Walter de Hemingburgh. ³ Warrington, who gives for his authority Mills' Catalogue of Honour, describes Madoc as an illegitimate son of the last Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith; and in Rot. Parl. 2 Edw. II (Vol. 1 p. 276) it is recorded that the Burgesses of the town of Hardelege had certain mills, &c. to farm of the King "*ante guerram Madoc ap Lywelyn quondam Principis Wallie.*" If we could be sure that Llewelyn, and not Madoc, is here alluded to as the "Prince of Wales" it would be authentic evidence that Madoc was a son of that Prince; and in that case "kinsman" in the text would be merely an euphemism for "natural son." In Hengwrt MS. No. 225 he is called Madoc ap Llewelyn ap Meredith. ⁴ See page 72. ⁵ Matt. Westminster (Edition of 1570) p. 395. ⁶ Annales de Wigornia. ⁷ Walter de Hemingburgh and Will. Rishanger.

way to join the head quarters of the army ; and the King proceeded into Wales with his own army on December 8,¹ where he was greatly harassed by Madoc and the Welshmen, who cut off his supplies near Conway and put him to great difficulties. Edward passed the winter at the castle of Aberconway and pursued the war with more success in the following year. The military events of the year 1295 are somewhat differently recorded by the early Historians. The King himself dates his letters at Aberconway from February 10 to April 6, and from April 18 to April 28 at Lammays in Anglesey.² According to the Worcester Annals Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford raised the siege of Abergavenny on February 13, when he burnt the lands of the Welshmen and killed an immense number of them. And on March 5 William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, defeated the Welsh with great slaughter at a place called Meismadoc, from which battle Madoc ap Llewelyn with difficulty escaped.³

On June 3 we find the King at Cardigan,⁴ whither he appears to have come on the promise of the Abbot of Strata Florida that he would bring the men of Cardigan to the King's peace ; but after the King had waited for some time with his army and none of the Welshmen came to seek his pardon, he was so angry with the Abbot that he ordered the Abbey to be burnt down.⁵

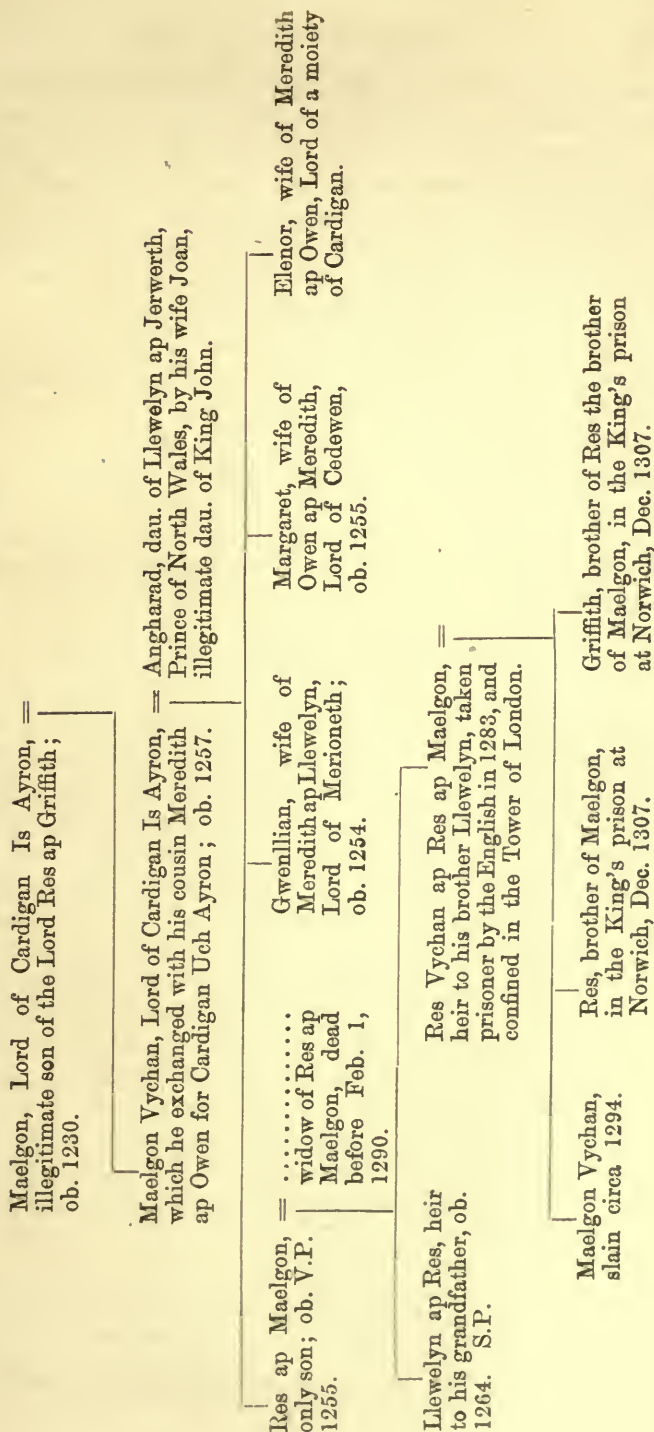
After this Morgan was induced by the Earl of Warwick to submit himself to the Royal clemency with seven hundred of his retainers.⁶ And when Madoc found himself hard pressed by the English and knew that Morgan had obtained mercy at the King's hands, he surrendered himself to John de Haveringe, the King's Lieutenant, on July 31,⁷ and sought pardon of the King, who spared his life but imprisoned him at the Tower of London.⁸

About the same time Canan, who had feigned leprosy, was taken at Brecknock, and conveyed to the King, by whom he was condemned to die as a traitor ; and he was accordingly hanged at Hereford on December 14, having

¹ Annales de Wigornia. ² Rymer's Fædera. ³, ⁵, & ⁶ Annales de Wigornia. ⁴ Rymer's Fædera. ⁷ Annales de Wigornia. According to Caradoc of Llancarvan Madoc was taken prisoner at a battle fought on the hills of Cefn Digolh, near Cawrs Castle, and sent to London where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower. ⁸ Matthew Westminster ; Annales de Dunstaplia.

TABLE IV.

DESCENDANTS OF MAELGON AP RES.



been first drawn at the tails of horses to the place of execution.¹

Thus ended the war of 1294-5; after which time, says Rishanger, Wales was quiet, and the Welshmen began to live after the manner of the English. Maelgon Vychan is said to have been slain by the men of Gwent (probably the retainers of the Earl of Gloucester) in a field between the mill-dam and the pool of the Prior of Carmarthen.²

At the conclusion of the peace many of the Welsh nobles were given up as hostages and sent to England to be imprisoned in divers castles, where they remained till after the conclusion of the Scottish war.³

I learn no more of the descendants of Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon, except that Res the brother of Maelgon and Griffin his brother were prisoners in the King's castle of Norwich, together with the son of Res ap Meredith in 1307 and 1308.⁴

DESCENDANTS OF MEREDITH AP OWEN.

Meredith ap Owen, Lord of Cardigan Is-Ayron, was the son of Owen ap Griffith, the surviving son and eventual representative of the Lord Griffith ap Res. In order to see clearly the position of his descendants at the close of the wars of Llewelyn and David we must revert to the earlier history of his family and take a short review of their struggles to retain possession of the territory of their forefathers.

When the Lord Griffith ap Res died in 1201 Cardigan and such portions of Carmarthen as were then in his possession were seized by his brothers Res Grig and Maelgon. Thus Cardigan and the Lordship of Emlyn fell into Maelgon's hands, and Ystradtywi into those of Res Grig.

Young Res, the eldest son of Griffith ap Res, recovered the castle of Llandovery and a portion of Cantrev Bychan

¹ Annales de Wigornia; Matthew Westminster says that he was taken prisoner with two of his adherents, and being conveyed to Hereford on St. Matthias' day (Feb. 24), was drawn at the tails of horses and hanged; his two retainers receiving a similar punishment. It is probable that instead of St. Matthias', it should be St. Matthew's day, September 21, which would make the discrepancy a small one. ² Hengwrt MS. No. 96 (being a book of Pedigrees in the autograph of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, the famous antiquary). ³ Walter de Hemingburgh. ⁴ Rymer's Fædera.

from his uncle Res Grig in 1202, and the castle of Llangadoc in the following year; but these were shortly afterwards taken from him by Maelgon and his allies.

The castles of Llandovery and Dynevor were taken in 1204 by the sons of Griffith ap Res, who also recovered Llangadoc and made their peace with their uncle Res Grig by surrendering to him the castle of Dynevor; and in the course of the year 1207 the whole of Cardigan Uch-Ayron was taken from Maelgon by Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, Prince of North Wales, and given over to young Res and Owen the sons of Griffith ap Res.

In 1210 Res Grig made his peace with the English, and by their assistance retook the castle of Llandovery; whereupon Maelgon also became "the King's man" and endeavoured to take the territory of Uch-Ayron from his nephews, but he was encountered by them with much spirit and repulsed with considerable loss. Towards the close of the following year, however, when King John had brought all the other Welsh Princes to his subjection, he despatched his Warden of the Marches, Fulk de Breant, with an English army, accompanied by Maelgon and the other tributary Welsh Princes, to reduce to submission the sons of Griffith ap Res, who alone held out against him. Res and Owen, being unable to cope with so great a force, were obliged to capitulate, and having obtained a safe-conduct from Fulk, they repaired to the King's Court, and, "*pro malivolenciâ suâ eis relaxandâ*," surrendered to him their whole land of the Honour of Cardigan, the whole land of Cantrebochan with the castle of Llandovery, and the whole land of Mathlaen;¹ after which Fulk rebuilt the castle of Aberystwith for the King.

Res Grig and Maelgon now repented of their submission to the English Monarch, and attacked his castle of Aberystwith; so that on the return of Res and Owen to South Wales the young Princes were able to retaliate upon their uncles under colour of the King's authority, who now granted to Res ap Griffith the whole Honour of Cardigan which Maelgon had held, reserving to himself, however, the castles of Cardigan and Aberystwith with their adjacent manors. This grant did not enable

¹ Bishop Stapleton's Kalendar of the Treasury of the Exchequer (see Kalendars and Inventories in H. Majesty's Court of Exchequer, Vol. I, p. 198).

young Res to obtain possession of his lands in Cardigan at this time, but he and his brother Owen succeeded in recovering the castles of Llandovery and Dynevor and the whole of Ystradtywi from Res Grig in the following year.

In the year 1216 the Welsh, under the lead of Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, recovered from the English much of their ancient territory, including the commots of Kidwelly and Carnwallyon (in Carmarthenshire) and a considerable portion of Dyvet (or Pembrokeshire), which the native Lords of South Wales continued to hold for a time in addition to Cardigan and Ystradtywi. During the period of this their brilliant success against the common enemy their family differences were temporarily adjusted and a settlement made, under the Presidency of Llewelyn, by which Maelgon received as his share of territory the Northern portion of Dyvet, with two of the Southern commots of Cardigan, namely Gwynnionith and Mabwynneon, and the two Eastern commots of Ystradtywi, namely Mallaen and Hirfryn which adjoined the Lordship of Brecknock. The remainder of Ystradtywi was assigned to Res Grig; and the remainder of Cardigan to the sons of Griffith.

On the death of the young Lord Res ap Griffith, without issue, in 1222, it would seem that, by the interference of Llewelyn, Maelgon received a portion of his land, and thus became Lord of the entire Southern moiety of Cardigan (or Cardigan Is-Ayron), while Owen ap Griffith, the brother of young Res, retained the upper moiety (or Cardigan Uch-Ayron); and on Maelgon's ejectment by the Earl of Pembroke, about 1223, his portion of Cardigan was given by the Earl to Cynan ap Howel Sais, to be held by him under the said Earl. Whereupon Maelgon betook himself to Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, through whose intercession he obtained an order from the King for a fresh partition of lands between Maelgon and his nephews Owen ap Griffith and Cynan ap Howel, to be determined by certain arbitrators, of whom the half were to be nominated by Llewelyn and the other half by the Earl of Pembroke, so that Owen's interests would seem to have been unrepresented. The result of this commission was an order from the King to Owen ap Griffith to give up to

his uncle Maelgon the commot of Crewthyn, which had been adjudged to him by the said arbitrators,—and this, as I suppose, to be held by Maelgon in addition to the land of Cardigan Is-Ayron, which had been probably restored to him at this time, while Cynan ap Howel's claims will have been satisfied perhaps by the acquisition of the Lordships of Emlyn and Oysterlof.

From what follows I should, however, conjecture that the commot of Pennarth was transferred to Maelgon at this time instead of that of Crewthyn.

Owen ap Griffith died in 1235, and was succeeded in his dominion by a son Meredith ap Owen,—his uncle Maelgon having previously died about 1230 and been succeeded by a son Maelgon Vychan.

In 1236 the commot of Mevenyth was given by Meredith ap Owen to Maelgon Vychan in exchange for that of Pennarth; and a few years later—sometime between 1241 and 1245, a general exchange of lands was made between them, whereby the dominion of Maelgon was transferred to Uch-Ayron and that of Meredith to Is-Ayron.

I am unable to say whether Pennarth, under this arrangement, was taken or not by Maelgon, whose daughter in law certainly had her dower assigned to her in that commot; but when Maelgon was afterwards dispossessed of his territory, in 1246, by Nicholas de Moels Meredith ap Owen and Meredith ap Res, who were acting under the King's authority, it is probable that some portion of Maelgon's lands, including the commots of Pennarth, Mevenyth, Crewthyn, and Geneurglyn, were retained by Meredith ap Owen, and that the rest were seized into the King's hands, and afterwards granted to Prince Edward, the King's son.

When Maelgon submitted himself to the King, towards the close of the same year, two commots only were assigned to him for his possession, namely those of Geneurglyn and Iscoed, which had been formerly held by Meredith ap Owen; and Iscoed was afterwards, by the King's favour, exchanged for Crewthyn.

I should suppose that Meredith ap Owen must have been in some measure a consenting party to this arrangement, for one at least of these commots, namely that of Iscoed, was certainly parcel of his own proper Dominions.

If the commots of Pennarth and Mevenyth were not made over to Meredith ap Owen at this time, it is possible that they may have fallen into his hands in the autumn of 1250, when Maelgon was again under the King's displeasure.

Whatever portion of Maelgon's lands, however, had been appropriated by Prince Edward was subsequently conceded by Llewelyn, in 1256, to Meredith ap Owen, together with the land of Buellt, of which latter he does not appear to have long retained possession.

From this time until after the death of Meredith ap Owen in 1265 the Welsh ruled paramount in these parts of Wales; and, whereas Maelgon died in 1257, not long after the first breaking out of the war, it is probable that the whole of Cardigan, except perhaps the commot of Crewthyn and the upper moiety of Geneurglyn, remained in Meredith's hands until the time of his death.

Maelgon Vychan had in the mean time been succeeded by his grandsons Llewelyn ap Res and Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon in turn; and after the death of Meredith ap Owen Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith took the Northern commots of Geneurglyn, Crewthyn, and Perveth, from the sons of Meredith ap Owen and gave them over to Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon.

The sons of Meredith ap Owen were Owen, Griffith, and Canan; who divided his lands between them. He had also a daughter Gwenllian, wife of one Meredith, by whom she had a daughter and heiress Elen, who subsequently claimed against Robert Clement certain lands in the commot of Pennarth.

Owen ap Meredith the eldest son of Meredith ap Owen died on August 15, 1275, before the commencement of the war with King Edward, leaving an infant son Llewelyn, of whom hereafter.

Griffith ap Meredith, whom I take to have been the second son, received as his share of his father's territory the commot of Iscoed Ucherwern, a portion of the commots of Mabwynneon and Gwynnionith, and probably the commot of Mevenyth, which, though subsequently accounted in the King's Courts to have been forfeited by his father Meredith ap Owen, was at one time certainly in Griffith's possession.

About the year 1270 Griffith and his brother Owen and Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon recovered from the English the commots of Anhunog, Perveth, and Crewthyn, which had apparently been taken from them after the settlement of the last peace, and it is possible that Mevenyth may have been lost and recovered in the same way.

Of these lands Crewthyn seems to have been retained by Res Vychan; and about February 2, 1273, Owen and Griffith restored Perveth to their brother Canan.

It would seem that the portion of Gwynnionith in which the Parish of Llandussil was situated, originally fell to the share of Griffith (unless the advowson of the church was jointly held by all the sons of Meredith ap Owen, who may possibly have presented to it in turn), for in 1274, before the death of Owen ap Meredith, there had been a suit pending in the Court of Canterbury between the chapter of St. David's and Griffin son of Mereduc ap Owen, concerning the right of presentation to this church; with respect to which the said Griffin voluntarily submitted himself to the decision of Richard, Lord Bishop of St. David's, and pledged himself by deed dated at Trefdyn on 3 Kal. Nov. (Oct. 30), 1274, to accept the Bishop's award. The Lord Bishop thereupon decided that the said Griffin and his heirs for ever should have the right of presentation, and that Howel, who had been presented by Griffin, should be admitted and canonically instituted thereto; but that he and the Rectors succeeding him should make an annual payment of 20 marks of silver to the chapter of St. David's for the use of the canons residentiary there. He further decided that there should be a perpetual Vicar in residence at Llandussil, to be presented by the Rector, which Vicar should receive one third part of the income of the church of Llandussil, less the 20 marks with which it is charged for the chapter of St. David's. The Bishop's award is dated at the same time and place as the deed of Griffith, and it is subscribed by Howel, son of Lewelin, the Rector nominated and presented by the said Griffin son of Mereduc.¹

In the spring of the year 1277, after the death of Owen ap Meredith, Griffith and his surviving brother Canan

¹ Statuta ecclesie Menevensis (Harl. MSS. 1249). Richard de Carrew was Bishop of St. David's from 1256 to 1280.

joined Llewelyn ap Griffith and the men of North Wales in their insurrection against the English rule, but within a few months afterwards they made their peace with the King, upon which the commots of Mevenyth, Perveth, and Anhunog (which last was of the inheritance of their nephew Llewelyn ap Owen), were taken by Pain de Chaworth and seized into the King's hands. On making their submission they repaired to the King's Court, with the other Princes of South Wales, but were not at that time allowed to do fealty and homage for their lands, though they were afterwards admitted thereto at a council held at Worcester on July 1 of the same year.

In 1278 Griffith ap Meredith complains to the King and his Parliament that on the day that he had returned to the King's peace he was deprived of one half of his land, namely the commot of Mevenyth, which is reputed to be worth two commots, and prays that some compensation may be made to him. The answer was that his claim had been compromised by a sum of money which he had received at the Tower of London.

I presume that he still retained possession of the commot of Iscoed Uchirwern; for an extent of the lands of "Griffin son of Mereduc" was taken at Lampader Vawr on April 11, 1279, "by twelve of the King's men of the county of Cardigan" when the jury found that "there are there six westva of the annual value of twenty-four marks of fixed rent; they are called Uthirwern and (*sic*) Iscoyt, and" the said Griffin "has nothing else besides this of which the annual value can be stated, because they (the jurors) know not how to estimate the perquisites of the court or escheats."¹

This commot (which he exchanged, in the course of the next three years, with his nephew Llewelyn ap Owen for that of Kaerwedros) appears to have comprised the whole extent of his lands at that time, though he afterwards re-occupied once more the commot of Mevenyth during the short outbreak of 1282, and was certainly in possession of his share of Mabwynneon and Gwynnionith in July 1282.

Hostilities with the English had been commenced in North Wales by David ap Griffith, the brother of

¹ Inq. 7 Edw. I, No. 76.

Llewelyn, on March 21, 1282. They were promptly taken up by Griffith ap Meredith and Res ap Res ap Maelgon in the South, who possessed themselves of the Castle of Lampader Vawr on the 25th of the same month; and on the following day Griffith and his brother Canan took part in the general expedition which resulted in the recovery of the castles of Llandovery and Carregcennen from the English.

These brilliant exploits, however, produced but a transient success. During the period that intervened between this and the death of Llewelyn ap Griffith at the close of the same year we find the sons of Meredith ap Owen complaining that the King had forcibly deprived them of their inheritance of Geneurglyn and Crewthyn, which he had conceded to them after the form of peace.¹

It is not easy to see how their claim to these two commots could be made out, but the explanation of it is to be found in the Welsh Plea-Rolls preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer. It appears that after the conclusion of peace in 1277 the King received the homage of the respective Lords of South Wales for the lands which they then held. Commissioners were subsequently appointed to hear and determine the disputes concerning the tenure of lands &c. in Wales, who held their courts in different parts of the country during the three following years. At a court held at Montgomery, on April 29, 1280 (*in crastino claus. pasch. anno 8 Edw. I*), before R. de Fremyngham and the Justices associated with him, it appears that Griffin Abmereduth, Canan his brother, and Leulin their nephew had sued the King for recovery of the commots of Generglin and Creudin which were then in the King's hands. Their plea was that Meredith Abowan, father of the said Griffin and Canan and grandfather of the said Leulin, was seised of the said commot of Creudin in demesne as of fee until Leulin, Prince of Wales unjustly ejected him by force and violence; and the said Canan was similarly seised of the said commot of Generglin, as his share of inheritance, until the same Leulin unjustly ejected him by force and violence;² and they demanded that their

¹ See page 169. ² Compare this with the account given at pages 149 and 214, from which it slightly varies, though it may be made to tally by supposing that the sons of Meredith ap Owen had re-entered upon Crewthyn after their father's decease.

right should be enquired into. Bogo de Knovile appeared on behalf of the crown, and said that when the King, in time of war between himself and Leulin, Prince of Wales, came into those parts with his army, he found Res Vathan ap Res ap Mailgun seised of the said commots in demesne as of fee, which same Res Mailgun then did homage and fealty to the King for the said commots, in the presence of the said Griffin, Canan, and Leulin, who preferred no claim thereto. After which the same Res Mailgun became the King's capital enemy, in contravention of the peace; and by his forfeiture the said commots came into the King's hands. When the peace was concluded at Rothelan the same Res Vathan was disinherited by the judgement of the King's court and that of the Prince of Wales, so that his lands remained in the King's hands as an escheat. So he (De Knovile) asked sentence on behalf of the King, because the said Griffin, Canan, and Leulin had preferred no claim to their right before the judgement of disinheritance against the said Res was pronounced.

And the aforesaid Griffin, Canan, and Leulin, said that at the time when the said Res Vathan did homage to the King they laid claim to the land and were willing to prosecute their claim when the time should arrive for the purpose, and that the King took Res's homage saving the rights of any others, and they appealed to the King's memory whether or not they had made such protest. Moreover they said that the aforesaid Res Vathan was a bastard and the son of a harlot, so that he could not have any inheritance descending to him *de jure* though he held the land *de facto*; wherefore they sought judgement as to whether they ought to be excluded on account of the forfeiture of the said Res.

And the aforesaid Bogo and other advocates on behalf of the crown replied that whereas the said Res had neither before the sentence of disinheritance nor afterwards until this time been convicted of bastardy or of being a son of a harlot therefore this kind of special plea ought not to prejudice the King.

At the day appointed (i. e. some adjourned hearing of this case) the aforesaid Griffin, Canan, and Leulin appeared by their attorneys; and whereas they had previously submitted themselves to the King's memory

whether they had set forth anything before the King with respect to their right to the said two commots when Res had returned to the King's fealty, the King is now consulted by the Justices as to whether he wishes to make any answer in such a matter. And the King's reply is that he recollects nothing about it. Whereupon it is judicially pronounced to them (the complainants) that,—whereas there is no proof of their alleging their right before execution of the sentence of disinheritance against Res, nor yet any proof of such allegation what time the same Res having returned to the King's peace did his homage to the King for the said two commots in their presence, they not making any charge against Res,—it is judicially pronounced—that they be excluded from all action. And a day was assigned to them (probably to hear sentence) to appear before the King wherever (he might be in England) in one month of Easter. And the said Griffin, Canan, and Leulin nominate as their attorney one of themselves whichever shall happen to be present (on the said day of adjournment).¹

The result of their suit may be gathered from the complaint which they made of their grievances in 1282; soon after which the career of Griffith ap Meredith was brought to a close.

Llewelyn ap Griffith, the Prince of North Wales, was killed on December 10, 1282. His brother David was given up to the English in June 1283; and about the same time, or shortly afterwards, Griffith ap Meredith and Canan his brother, with other Lords of South Wales, were taken prisoners and placed in confinement at London, when their lands were taken into the King's hands.

In the meantime, by charter dated at Rhuddlan on July 28, 1282, the King had granted to their kinsman Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig such parts of the commots of Mabwynneon and Gwynnionith as were then held by Griffin and Canan his brother, the King's enemies and rebels, saving the portions thereof which were held by Llewelyn ap Owen at the commencement of the late war;² and the commot of Kaerwedros at this time fell into and afterwards remained in the King's hands.³

¹ Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Wallia—Miscell. Bag, No. 38, m. 19. ² Rot. Wall. 10 Edw. I, m. 4 in Schedule. ³ Inq. 2 Edw. III, No. 47.

I find no mention of any children of Griffith ap Meredith, nor do I know of any families who profess to be descended from him. As he claimed and was allowed to be the rightful patron of the church of Llandyssul in 1274, to which his nephew Llewelyn ap Owen in 1305 had the undisputed right of presentation for at least two successive turns, and of which Owen ap Llewelyn and Owen ap Thomas ap Llewelyn (the son and grandson of the same Llewelyn ap Owen) were afterwards acknowledged to be the indisputable patrons, we may, perhaps, infer that Griffith died without issue.

Canan ap Meredith, the youngest son of Meredith ap Owen, inherited as his share of the paternal inheritance a portion of the commots of Mabwynneon and Gwynnionith, the commot of Crewthyn until he was deprived of it by Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith, and probably the commot of Perveth until it was taken into Prince Edward's hands after the peace of 1267. This latter commot was recovered by his brothers Owen and Griffith about the year 1270, and was by them restored to him in 1273.

In the following year he exchanged this commot with Res Vychan ap Res ap Maelgon for that of Pennarth.

From this time till the close of the wars of Llewelyn and David the history of Canan ap Meredith follows that of his brother Griffith, with whom he appears to have acted in concert during the wars of 1277 and 1282, and with whom he was taken prisoner, in 1283, and shut up in the Tower of London. After this,—though we hear no more of his brother Griffith ap Meredith, who, like Res Wendot of Ystradtywi, probably died in the King's prison,—it would seem that Canan ap Meredith once more obtained his liberty, and he may possibly have had some portion of his lands restored to him. We hear nothing of him during the rebellion of Res ap Meredith ap Res Grig from 1285 to 1291; but in the subsequent rising of the Welsh at Michaelmas 1294, against the collection of the heavy war tax which the King had imposed upon them, Kynnan (or Canan) ap Meredith and Maelgon Vychan headed the insurrection in West Wales.¹ The insurrection, as we have seen, was put down early in the following year; Maelgon Vychan was killed near Carmarthen by the men

¹ See page 206.

of Gwent, and Canan ap Meredith, being taken prisoner, was conveyed to Hereford, where he was hanged on September 14, 1295, having first been drawn to the place of execution at the tails of horses.

Canan ap Meredith, like most of his family, was a benefactor to the great Abbey of Strata Florida. His charter, without date, is amongst others recited in the confirmatory charter of King Henry VI. By this charter Canan confirms to the Abbot and convent all the gifts which were made by his ancestor of pious memory, the Lord Res the great, Prince of South Wales, and by all his sons and grandsons, also those which were made by his father, the Lord Meredith son of Owen of good memory, and by all other his ancestors, as well as those which were made by his brothers Owen and Griffith and by other faithful men; moreover he concedes to the same Abbot and convent all waifs thrown by the sea upon their lands. His charter is witnessed, amongst others, by his brother Griffith, and by Aman, then Abbot of Strata Florida, Owen ap Griffith, then Archdeacon of Cardigan, and Lewelyn ap Remoric, then Dean of Upper Ayrôn.¹

We have seen that his portion of Mabwynneon and Gwynnionith were given to the time-serving Res ap Meredith, at whose attainder, in 1291, they will have escheated once more to the crown. The commot of Pennarth, by the attainder of Canan, also fell to King Edward I, by whom it was granted to Geoffrey Clement.

Canan ap Meredith is said by the Welsh genealogists to have had two daughters and coheirs;² namely Jonet or Jennett, wife of Geoffrey Clement; and Gwenllian, wife of Sir Griffith Lloyd, Knight, of Tregarnedd in Anglesey. I consider the marriage of these two daughters to be somewhat problematical.

As to the marriage of Jonet daughter of Canan ap Meredith with Geoffrey Clement, the Heraldic pedigrees which record it are certainly inaccurate, for they make Geoffrey, the son of that Geoffrey to whom King Edward granted the commot of Pennarth, to have been the husband of Jonet and father by her of the Robert Clement who

¹ Hist. of Strata Florida Abbey by the Rev. G. Roberts. According to Le Neve, Hugh, the predecessor of Owen ap Griffith, was Archdeacon of Cardigan in 1274, so that the charter must have passed between that year and 1283, the date of Griffith's incarceration. ² Her. Vis. Wall.; Golden Grove MS.; and Mr. J. Morris's MS.

succeeded him;¹ whereas this second Geoffrey certainly died without issue and Robert Clement who succeeded him was not his son but his brother.² The well known readiness of the Welsh genealogists to establish a Cambrian descent for the English settlers who became proprietors of Welsh lands should make us cautious in adopting such a marriage without further proof, and I know of nothing to corroborate it unless it be the mention of Elen the daughter of Gwennllian, daughter of Meredith ap Owen, by Robert son of Geoffrey Clement as *his* cousin (if this be the true meaning of his words) in a petition to the King and his council which will be recorded on a future page. The Clements do not appear to have ever preferred any claim to hold the commot of Pennarth by hereditary right; but it is nevertheless quite possible that they may have endeavoured to strengthen their title in the eyes of the Welshmen by such a marriage; and if so, I should suppose the first of the two Geoffreys to have been the husband of Canan's daughter.

Their tenure of the commot of Pennarth dates from the year 1290. On February 10 of that year King Edward I grants to Geoffrey Clement, for the good service already rendered and hereafter to be rendered by him to the King, certain lands and rents of the annual value of £9. 11s. 4d. in the commot of Pennarth *adjacent* to the county of Cardigan, namely the lands of Caron, Cam, Eron, Dugayron, and Trof Bresk, which amount to £6. 15s. 4d., and one *Randir'* (or portion) of Weron Oweyn and two and a half *Randir'* in Langaytho, which are estimated at £2. 16s. *per annum*, to have and to hold to the said Geoffrey and his heirs of the King and his heirs for ever, by the service of attending the King's expeditions into Wales, with his men and tenants of the said lands whenever they should be summoned by the King or his Justiciaries.³

On June 10 of the same year the King, being desirous of shewing greater favour to the said Geoffrey Clement,—after reciting the above mentioned grant which had already been made to him of nine librates &c. of land and rents in the King's commot of Pennarth in the county

¹ Her. Vis. Wall.; Golden Grove MS.; and Mr. J. Morris's MS. ² Inq. p. m. 12 Edw. II, No. 12. ³ Rot. Wall. 14—23 Edw. I, m. 7 de anno 18^o.

of Cardigan out of those thirteen librates of land and rents at which the commot was extended,—further concedes to him and his heirs for ever the said commot with the liberties and rights belonging to it, to hold by payment of an annual rent of £3 to be rendered half yearly through the hands of the Constable, for the time being, of the castle of Lampader and the service of attending the King's expeditions into Wales (as before specified). By a second charter of the same date the King remits to the said Geoffrey, for the term of his life, the said annual rent of £3, which is however to be paid after his death by his heirs.¹ But on May 15, 1292, (as we learn from a subsequent *inspeximus*) Geoffrey Clement obtained a fresh charter by which the reserved rent of £3 was altogether remitted.²

On August 3, 1294, the same Geoffrey Clement purchased from Llewelyn son of Roger de Mortimer of West Wales,—for the sum of £40 sterling of good and legal money and three carucates of land with the vestures³ and all their appurtenances and liberties in Goydmaur, which said carucates the said Geoffrey had had of the gift of the aforesaid Roger Mortimer Llewelyn's father,—all the lands and tenements with their appurtenances in the commot of Generglyn which the said Roger Mortimer had had of the gift of King Edward I, for which he, Geoffrey, is to render the service of half a Knight's fee.⁴

This Geoffrey Clement (I) is said to have been slain by the Welsh in a revolt, at Buellt, in or about the same year,⁵ 1294, when he was succeeded by his son Geoffrey Clement (II).

Geoffrey Clement (II), on January 28, 1318, had an *inspeximus* and confirmation from Edward II, whereby the King concedes to him the land of Generglen (whose meets and bounds are fully described in the charter), which land, King Edward I had given to Roger de Mortimer and his heirs by charter tested at Bristol on December 27, 1284, reserving to himself and his heirs "the four pleas of the

¹ Rot. Pat. 18 Edw I, m. 20. ² Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV, part 1, m. 7. ³ *Vestures* were the proceeds of the soil, whether cuttings, crops, or fruits. According to the original idea, woods, corn, and grass, seem to have been considered as the clothing of the earth (Eyton's Ant. of Shropshire vol. I, p. 93 note). ⁴ Rot. Pat. 11 Edw. II, part 1, m. 2. ⁵ Hengwrt MS. No. 225, and Mr. J. Morris MS., in both of which, however, Geoffrey's death is ascribed to the year 1293.

crown" and estovers¹ from the wood of Lyscoyt for the use of his castle of Lampader, and which same land had since been purchased by Geoffrey Clement his father from Llewelyn son of Roger Mortimer in 1294.²

This second Geoffrey Clement died without issue about a year afterwards. The Inquisition *post mortem* was taken at Carmarthen, on February 24, 1319, before Roger de Mortimer, Justice of Wales. He held the commot of Pennarth and a moiety of the commot of Generglyn in Cardiganshire of the King *in capite* for his homage and the service of one and a half Knight's fee, namely that he and his heirs, with their men and tenants of those commots, should attend the King's expeditions into Wales as often as they were summoned by the King or his Justices or their Lieutenants in those parts. The commot of Pennarth is valued at £17. 11s. 5d., and the moiety of Generglyn at £14. 3s. 4d. *per annum*. Robert Clement is Geoffrey's brother and nearest heir, and is of the age of 25 years and more.³

It would seem that Meredith ap Owen had given a portion of the commot of Pennarth in frank marriage with his daughter Wenthliane, or Gwenllian, who continued to hold it during her life. After Wenthliane's death it was claimed by her daughter Elen, but the right of Elen was disputed by Robert Clement, whereupon the disputed land was taken into the King's hands. The first inquisition that was held upon it fully recognised the right of Elen; but her entry being barred by Robert Clement, the land was still retained in the King's hands.

¹ *Estoveria* were allowances of timber from the woods for various purposes. ² Rot. Pat. 11 Edw. II, part 1, m. 2. I am unable to identify this Roger de Mortimer. In a Pedigree preserved in the Golden Grove MS. he is given as a younger son of Roger Mortimer of Chirk and brother of that John Mortimer who sold Chirk to Richard Fitzalan, but this is incompatible with dates, and the pedigree is altogether so erroneous in other respects as to be wholly unworthy of credit. His son Llewelyn Mortimer seems to have disposed of most of his father's lands. From an inquisition taken at Carmarthen before Roger de Mortimer, Justice of Wales, on April 16, 1314, with respect to the land which had been held in dower by his mother Nest, the widow of Roger de Mortimer, we learn that Roger de Mortimer held of King Edward I a moiety of the commot of Iscoed, by the service of going in the army of the Lord of that commot, without payment of rent or any other service; and after the death of the said Roger, Llewelyn, his son and heir, surrendered to his mother Nest for her dower one third part of the lands in that commot which his father had held in demesne, and for the rest of her dower he gave her an annual sum of 9s. 1½d. The said Llewelyn subsequently enfeoffed Hugh de Cressingham in his lands and tenements in the said commot together with the reversion of his mother's dower. On the death of Hugh the said lands reverted as an escheat to King Edward II, to whom the third part held by Nesta in dower likewise reverted (Inq. a. q. d. 7 Edw. II, No. 69). ³ Inq. p. m. 12 Edw. II, No. 12.

Petitions to the King and his council were thereupon presented by both the claimants. Elene Wergh Mereduk, the daughter and heiress of Wenthliane Wergh Mereduk, on the one hand, prays the King to order his Justice of South Wales to enquire into her title to Quynnil in Cardiganshire, which was her mother's inheritance and which devolved upon her after the death of her mother.¹ The counter petition of Robert Clement cites the gift of the commot of Pennarth by King Edward I to his father Geoffrey Clement, at whose decease it came to Geoffrey his son and heir, at whose decease it came to Robert, the claimant, as his brother and heir, who was seised of it until Sir Roger Mortimer, at the suggestion of one Eleyn, the wife of Mereduth Vauwhan, "*sa cosyne*,"² seized it into the King's hands, in whose hands it now remains,—for which he prays a remedy.³ In answer to these petitions the King issued his brief to the Justice of South Wales ordering him to take a fresh inquisition, which was accordingly held at Carmarthen before the Lord John Gyffard, Lieutenant of the Justice of South Wales, on April 30, 1332. This second inquisition resulted in a contrary verdict; for the Jury now reported that Elen the daughter of Meredith had no right to the land called Guynnyl in Kardiganshire and that she did not enter upon the said land as of right and inheritance after the death of her mother, neither was she in any way seized of it. They said that King Edward I had given and conceded to Geoffrey Clement and his heirs the commot of Pennarth with the appurtenances and that the said land of Guynnyl is parcel of the said commot and contains a messuage and forty acres of land with the appurtenances, of which the said Geoffrey died seized, after whose decease Geoffrey his son and heir entered upon the said commot and the said land of Guynnyl as parcel of the said commot, of which he also died seized, after whose decease Robert Clement, as brother and heir of the said Geoffrey, entered upon the said commot and the said land of Guynnyl as parcel thereof, and was seized of it

¹ Parliamentary Petitions [Chancery] No. 1446. ² It is doubtful whether the petitioner here speaks of Elen as his own cousin or the cousin of Mortimer; but if Robert Clement were the son of Jonet, the daughter of Canan ap Meredith, Elen will have been his mother's first cousin. ³ Parliamentary Petitions [Chancery] No. 1445.

until Roger de Mortimer, late Justice of Wales, removed him from the said land without process or judgement, at the suggestion of the aforesaid Elen. They further reported that the said Robert held the said land of the King *in capite* and that he has full right to the said land of Guynnnyl by virtue of the King's gift.¹

It would seem that Elen, finding her opponents too strong for her, and despairing of having her claim recognised, desisted from further prosecution of her suit. For on August 17, of the same year, the King expedites his letters to Gilbert Talbot, his Justice of South Wales, wherein he first recites the former inquisition, which had been held by the said Justice at the King's command and duly returned to the Court of Chancery, by which it was represented that Wenthliane Wergh Mereduk ap Oweyn, had held certain lands and tenements in the commot of Pennarth, namely a third part of a westva in Gwynwill, in fee, and that after her death Elen Wergh Mereduk, the daughter and heiress of the said Wenthliane, had entered upon the said lands and tenements as hers by right of inheritance and held them peaceably until Geskinus de Beauflur, late Seneschal of Cardiganshire, ejected her by the precept of Roger de Mortimer, then Justice of Wales, on the Feast of St. Michael, 1329, and caused them to be seized into the King's hands, in whose hands they still remain; and that the said Elen has never remitted or quit-claimed her right therein to any one; and that the said lands and tenements are held of the King by certain services. Then follows a recitation of the subsequent inquisition of April 30, 1332, which has been already given, and in which a totally different conclusion was arrived at. And the King goes on to say that he, being desirous of doing justice to both parties, had commanded his said Justice of South Wales to give the said Elen notice to appear at the King's Court on the quinzaine of the Nativity of John the Baptist (July 8), which day had been also assigned to the said Robert, in order to shew cause, if she can, why the said land should not be delivered to the said Robert, and also to do or receive whatever should be adjudged by the King's court in the matter; and whereas

¹ Inq. 6 Edw. III (2nd Nrs.), No. 71.

the said Elen, after having been solemnly cited to appear on that day, neither came nor sent any one in her behalf, and whereas the King's Treasurer and Chamberlains have since certified that they have searched the writings and muniments in their custody at the Treasury, and found nothing with respect to the aforesaid commot and land,—the King, being willing to do what is just to the aforesaid Robert in this matter, commands his Justice of South Wales to give to the said Robert seizin of the said lands.¹

In order to make sure of his acquisitions Robert Clement obtained from King Edward III, on October 20, 1334, by payment of a fine, a confirmation of all the above mentioned charters and a further concession that although the said Robert or his ancestors had not fully made use of all the liberties pertaining to his said commot, lands, and tenements, yet the same Robert and his heirs should be entitled to enjoy them for the future without impediment from the King's Justices, Escheators, Sheriffs, or other his Bailiffs and servants.²

Robert Clement was living in September, 1344, when he was summoned to the court of the Prince of Wales (son of King Edward III) at Cardigan to shew by what warrant he claims to hold the commot of Pennarth and his free courts therein, and by what warrant he claims to have a weekly market and annual fair at each of his manors of Karon and Langeytho in the county of Cardigan, and also by what warrant he claims to have cognizance of pleas in his Lordship of Gen'glyn.³ I am unable to give the date of Robert Clement's death, but I suppose that he was succeeded by his grandson, for on October 27, 1400-1, John, son of Griffin, son of the same Robert Clement, who is called the cousin and nearest heir of Robert Clement, has a confirmatory charter to him and his heirs in which all the above mentioned deeds are recited.⁴

John Clement, Esq., probably the same person, died on January 18, 1430. The inquisition *post mortem* was

¹ Rot. Claus. 6 Edw. III, m. 17. ² Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV, part 1, m. 7. ³ Plac. de quo warranto, 18 Edw. III, m. 5. At the inquisition taken after the death of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, in 22 Ric. II (No. 34), the jurors reported that Matilda wife of Robert Clement held of him a fourth part of a fee in Michele Church, which she was similarly reported to have held of Edmund, Earl of March at the inquisition taken after his death in 3 Hen. VI (Cal. Inq. p. m. 3 Hen. VI, No. 32). ⁴ Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV, part 1, m. 7.

held at Bromyerd in the county of Hereford on November 2 of that year. He held a moiety of the manor of Yaser in the county of Hereford, which was held of John Merbury, Esq. *in capite*, as of his manor of Webbeley, by military service. He held also the commot of Pennarth and a moiety of the commot of Generglyn with their appurtenances in the Marches of Wales, which are held of the King *in capite* by military service. There is in the commot of Pennarth one capital messuage which is of no annual value because it is ruinous. There is also in the same commot a vill of Caron, in which there are 10 acres of arable land, of which the annual value is 12d. each, one watermill worth £1. 6s. 8d. a year, 8 acres of meadow of which the annual value is 5d. each, two fairs (nundinæ) every year, each of which is worth 5s. from tolls and other profits, and rent from divers lands and tenements held by free tenants in the said vill amounting to £3. 13s. 4d. There are also, outside the said vill, in the commot of Pennarth, one watermill of the annual value of £1, one hundred acres of bosc, which realize nothing of yearly revenue more than is wanted to keep up the stock of game, and to pay the Keepers, a court of the yearly value of £2, and 20 marks and 3s. of rent, which messuage, vill, land, mill, fields, bosc, rents, court and fairs are parcel of the said commot of Pennarth. In the moiety of the commot of Generglyn there is one watermill worth £1. 6s. 8d. a year, 200 acres of wood, which are of no value beyond the wardenship thereof, and £10. 10s. of rent; there is also a court worth £1; which same mill, wood, rents, and court are parcel of the moiety of the commot of Geneurglyn. The said John Clement held no other lands or tenements of the King *in capite* or of any one else on the day of his death in the said county of Hereford or in the Marches adjacent thereto. His son Philip is his next heir and is of the age of 12 years and more. John Skydmore, Knight, and Griffin Don have occupied the aforesaid lands and tenements since the death of the said John Clement and received the profits thereof by virtue of the King's letters patent granted to them.¹

¹ Inq. p. m. 9 Hen. VI, No. 26.

Philip Clement died in his minority. The inquisition *post mortem* was taken at Hereford on the Sunday next before the Feast of the Annunciation (March 24) 1437. His lands were in the King's hands at the time of his death because he was under age. The said Philip died on January 7, 1437; "William Clement is his brother and heir and was 18 years of age at Christmas last past;" so that the age of Philip must have been understated at the previous inquest. Edmund Bamford, Earl of Mortayngne and Griffith ap Nicolas, Esq. have occupied the commot of Pennarth and the moiety of that of Generglyn since the death of Philip and received the profits thereof by virtue of the King's letters patent.¹

William Clement proved his age in 18 Hen. VI (1440).² He died according to one inquisition³ on the 10th, or according to another⁴ on the 12th, of July 1443, leaving an only daughter and heiress Matilda who was two years of age at the time of the former inquisition which was held on November 4, 1443. Both inquisitions relate to the manor of Yazor only, and at the later inquisition the Jurors state that William Clement held no other lands in the county of Hereford and the Marches than those stated in the inquisition, no mention being made of Pennarth or of any lands in the county of Cardigan.

According to the Welsh Genealogists the heiress of the Clements married John Wogan of Wiston, co. Pembroke, Esq., son of Sir Henry Wogan (who was slain at the Battle of Banbury in 1449).

There are several Pedigrees of the Wogans and Clements given in the Heraldic Visitations of Lewis Dwnn,⁵ and though they are all more or less erroneous in respect of the previous descents of the Clement family, they all agree in making the wife of John Wogan to be Maude, the daughter and heiress of *John* or *Jenkin* Clement, Lord of Tregaron, and Geneurglyn, by his wife Jane daughter of Griffith ap Nicholas ap Philip ap Elider.⁶ It is hereby suggested that Matilda the

¹ Inq. p. m. 15 Hen. VI, No. 40. ² Cal. Inq. 18 Hen. VI, No. 7. ³ Inq. 21 Hen. VI, No. 3. ⁴ Inq. 23 Hen. VI, No. 46. ⁵ Her. Vis. Wal. Vol. II, pp. 42, 43, 90, 91, 106, 107, 108. ⁶ It will be observed that Griffith ap Nicholas was one of the two persons to whom the King gave the lands of William son of John Clement, to hold during the said William's minority. Griffith ap Nicholas was Lord of Newton (or Dynevor) and grandfather of the famous Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., from whom the present Lord Dynevor derives his descent.

TABLE V.

Geoffrey Clement, who is said to have conquered the commot = of Pennarth from Canan ap Meredith and to have married his daughter, had a grant of the commot of Pennarth from King Edw. I in 1290, and purchased a moiety of Geneurglyn from Llewelyn son of Roger Mortimer in 1294, ob. circa 1294.		Robert Clement, heir to his brother Geoffrey, aged = 25 years and more in Feb. 1319. Living in 1344.		? Jonet daughter of Canan ap Meredith.	
Geoffrey Clement (II), Lord of Pennarth and a moiety of Geneurglyn, ob. circa 1319 S.P.		Griffin, son of Robert Clement =			
Philip Clement, son and heir of John Clement, Lord of Pennarth, a moiety of Geneurglyn, and Yasor, 1430, died in his minority in 1437, S.P.		John Clement, Esq., son of Griffin, Lord of Pennarth and a moiety of = Geneurglyn, co. Cardigan, and of Yasor, co. Hereford, 1400-1. : :		William Clement, heir to his brother = Philip, aged 18 in January, 1437. Died seized of Yasor in July, 1443.	
Matilda, daughter and heiress of William Clement, aged 2 years Nov., 1443.					

daughter of William son of John Clement died in her infancy and that the representation of the family devolved upon her aunt. Sir John Wogan, Knight, of Wiston, son and heir of John Wogan and Maude Clement, married Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Vaughan (who was beheaded at Pomfret in Yorkshire in 1483), by whom he had a son Sir John Wogan, Knight, from whom the families of Wogan, of Wiston, Picton, Stonehall, and Boulston, descended.¹

Sir Griffith Lloyd, Knight, who is said to have married another daughter of Canan ap Meredith, was the son of Sir Rhys ap Griffith, Knight, ap Ednyfed Vychan.² He is said to have been knighted by King Edward I, at Rhuddlan Castle, on his bringing to him the first intelligence of the birth of his son Edward, viz. at Caernarvon on April 25, 1284.

By deed dated at Lampadarn, in 1309, Griffinus Lloyd Knt. sells to the Bishop of the church of St. David his right to the advowson of the church of Llanrustud in South Wales, to which are witnesses, the Lord Roger de Mortimer, then Justice of Wales; the Lord Philip ap Howel; John de Skydemour, then Constable of Lanbadarn; Hoel Vathan; Jevan ap Griff. Gogh; Geoffrey Clement; William de Knovill; Gruff. Greg ap Jevan; Res Veyth; and others.³ Sir Griffith Lloyd did homage for his lands in Wales to the young Prince at Chester, but at a later period of his life he headed a revolt against the English. Between the years 1316 and 1318 he attempted to form an alliance with Edward Bruce, the shortlived King of Ireland. Letters passed between them, but without effect;⁴ and in 1322 he took up arms, and placed himself at the head of his countrymen, when he took the castles of Mold and Chirk and forming an entrenchment at Tregarnedd he over-ran the country for a short time with resistless impetuosity. But the rebellion was speedily repressed; Sir Griffith was taken

¹ Her. Vis. Wall. ² By charter dated at Caernarvon on April 20, 1284, King Edward I concedes to Margaret, widow of Res ap Griffith ap Ednevet Vechan and daughter of John l'Estrange, for the term of her life, the whole Lordship of the Vill of Tregarnedd, which had been settled on her by her late husband at the time of her marriage (Rot. Wall. 12 Edw. I, No. 30). ³ Harl. MS. 1249. ⁴ Burke's Dic. of Landed Gentry (under Lloyd of Plymogh).

prisoner, confined for a time in Rhuddlan castle, and afterwards executed.¹

According to the Heraldic Pedigrees he had by his wife Gwenllian,² daughter of Canan ap Meredith, seven daughters, namely Lleiki (or Lucy), wife of David Vychan, or Fongam, of Caieo;³ Sybel (or Cicely) wife of Sir Robert Clement; Crisli, wife of Sir Guy de Brian, Lord of Talacharn (or Laugharne);⁴ Deili (otherwise called Marred, or Morvydd), wife of Madoc Cloddaeth; Gwenllian, wife of Cadogan ap Howel ap Madoc, of Melienith; Philippa, wife of Bleddyn ap Ithel Vychan of Tegengl; and Elizabeth, wife of Gwyn Lloyd, of Hendonr.⁵ Sir Griffith Lloyd had also a son Sir Jevan Lloyd, Knight,⁶ but not by his wife Gwenllian.

¹ Her. Vis. Wall. Vol. II, p. 86, Editor's note. The inquisition after the death of Gruffinus Lloyd ap Rees was taken at Kermerdyn in 9 Edw. III. He held in fee of the King *in capite* the moiety of one manor with the appurtenances in Lanfrdour in Cantresmaur in the county of Carmarthen by the service of doing suit at the court of Carmarthen once a month; he also held in fee of the King *in capite* by the same service a fifth part of one Westva with the appurtenances in Landrustuth in the commot of Meveneth in the county of Cardigan. Jevan ap Griffiz ap Rees was his son and heir (Inq. p. m. 9 Edw. III, No. 17). ² Hengwrt MS. No. 96; Salusbury Pedigrees *penes* Mr. Joseph Morris. In Lewis Dwnn's Visitations (Her. Vis. Wall. Vol. II, p. 101) she is called Gwenllian daughter of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd, but this is probably a clerical error. Owen Gwynedd died in 1170; it is therefore impossible that his granddaughter could have been the wife of Sir Griffith Lloyd who was living in 1332. ³ For some account of the descendants of David Vychan and Lleiki see Her. Vis. Wall. Vol. I, p. 230. ⁴ There is a beautiful monument to Sir Guy de Brian at Tewkesbury; and in the church of Laugharne is preserved what is called Sir Guy de Brian's coat,—a very curious ancient cope which may perhaps have been his gift to the Priest serving the church there (Her. Vis. Wall. Vol. I, p. 45). There were more than one of this family who bore the name of Guy. One Sir Guy de Brian died in the 35th of Edward I (1306-7), having married Eva, the daughter and heiress of Henry de Traci, by whom he had a daughter Matilda, heiress to her mother, which Matilda married Sir Geoffrey de Camville, son of Sir William de Camville (Original charters of the Family of De la Roche, of Pembrokeshire, by Rev. Jos. Hunter and Rev. J. M. Traherne, p. 5 note). For some account of the Brian family see also Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, Vol. III, p. 250 & seq.; but I do not find any corroboration of the marriage of Sir Guy de Brian with a daughter of Sir Griffith Lloyd. ⁵ For some account of Gwyn Lloyd, Lord of Hendonr, see Her. Vis. Wall. Vol. II, p. 110 note. See also Burke's Dic. of Landed Gentry, under Hughes of Gwerclas, where, however, he has a different wife assigned to him. ⁶ Sir Jevan Lloyd lived in the time of King Edward III, and is mentioned by Holinshed as "Sir Jevan of Wales." Sir Samuel Meyrick, in a note to Her. Vis. Wall. Vol. II, p. 86, says that Sir Jevan Lloyd is believed to have been an illegitimate son of Sir Griffith Lloyd, and he is so described by Burke, in his Dic. of the Landed Gentry; but this is certainly wrong, for at the inquisition taken after the death of Gruffinus Thloyd ap Rees in 9 Edw. III, it was found that Jevanus ap Gruffiz ap Rees was his son and heir and forty years of age (Inq. p. m. 9 Edw. III, No. 17).

LLEWELYN AP OWEN.

Llewelyn ap Owen, son of Owen ap Meredith, the eldest son of Meredith ap Owen, became, on his father's death, the representative of the senior line of the Princes of South Wales.

In the division of the paternal inheritance his father Owen seems to have had for his portion the commots of Anhunog, Caerwedros, and a moiety of Gwynnionith UchKerdyn, with certain "Westva" or manorial chief rents besides. Of these the commot of Anhunog was apparently taken by Prince Edward after the peace of 1267. It was, however, recovered by Owen, about the year 1270, who granted it in frank marriage to his wife Agaret in 1273, and died seized of it on August 15, 1275, leaving issue by the said Agaret or Angharad, the daughter of Owen ap Meredith, Lord of Kedewen, an only son Llewelyn.

Llewelyn ap Owen was probably but a few months old at the time of his father's death, and in the following year, 1276, the Welsh were again actively in arms against King Edward, who had returned to England to take possession of his Kingdom in the autumn of 1274. Llewelyn and his lands were probably at this time in the hands of his uncles Griffith and Canan; and when these chieftains submitted themselves to the King in the summer of 1277 the young Llewelyn was placed under the guardianship of Pain de Chaworth, who took custody of his lands in the King's name.

On February 15, 1279, the King took the homage of Lewelin son of Owen, being still under age and in the King's custody, "for all the lands and tenements which he claims to hold of the King and which belonged to the said Owen his father on the day that he died." His lands and tenements were now given up to him to be held by him so long as he should conduct himself faithfully towards the King and his heirs; and Roger de Moeles, the King's Bailiff at Lampader Vawr, is ordered to put him in full seizin thereof.¹

Notwithstanding this concession and precept, neither Llewelyn nor his mother, upon whom the commot of

¹ Rot. Wall. 6—9 Edw. I (de anno Septimo) m. 9 dorso.

Anhunog had been settled in dower and who probably acted as his guardian during the remainder of his minority, ever obtained possession of this commot which was the most valuable portion of his inheritance. The commot of Anhunog had been taken into the King's hands during the insurrection of 1276-7 together with those of Mevenyth and Perveth, and as Llewelyn, its Lord, was an infant he should not fairly have been held responsible for the acts of his guardians. It was however, with scant justice, retained by the King as conquered land, in accordance with the usual policy of the English Monarchs, who never lost an opportunity of diminishing the power and importance of those who represented the Native Welsh Princes.

A few months later, viz. on April 11, 1279, we find the youthful Llewelyn, as one of the superior Lords of Cardigan, nominally holding an inquisition for the King at Lampader Vawr, in conjunction with his uncles Griffith and Canan.

This inquisition, which incidentally contains much historical information with respect to the previous exchange of territory between the Welsh Princes, runs as follows:—"An inquisition made by the Lord Griffin, Canan, and Llewelyn, sons of Mereduc ab Oweyn, and their magnates, as to the levying of half a mark beyond the customary rent due to the King in the time of H[enry], of pious memory, King of England, the holy Gospel being touched as to the truth of the evidence given on this matter and another; that is to say,— 'Marewde' is such that when Griffith, son of Res the Great, was Lord of Cardigan, he never received more than a mark at each annual term. He was succeeded by his son Owen, who similarly received the rents which are commonly called 'Westva.' Owen was succeeded by his son Meredith, who enjoyed a like dominion in those parts. By an exchange of lands, however, which took place between Melgon, son of Melgon the elder, descended from another line of Res the Great, of the one part, and Mereduc son of Owen, on the other, the dominion of Melgon the younger was transferred to the parts beyond the Ayeron, which is the name of a certain river, and the dominion of Mereduc was transferred to the parts below the Ayeron. The said Mereduc never required or received, either from Ultra Ayeron or Subtus Ayeron,

in the name of the same Westva, anything more than the customary mark at each term; but the aforesaid Melgon Junior,—transgressing the path of right, and without obtaining the assent of his country or referring to the memory of the better and elder men of his land with respect to the premises,—of his own arbitrary will rather than in course of law, extorted half a mark beyond the customary payment for the space of a year and a little more. The Lord Henry, of pious memory, sending his summons to West Wales, occupied by might and with a strong hand, the aforesaid parts beyond the Ayeron and seized them into his own hands, driving out the said Melgon into North Wales; who when he (afterwards) obtained the King's favour to hold the commots of Gliverglin and Iscoyte of the King *in capite* received no more than a mark in the name of westva at each year's end. By the favour of the same King Henry he made an exchange of the commot of Iscoyt for that of Grewdin, and neither from that nor from Gliverglin did he wrongfully extort more than a mark. To which Melgon succeeded Lewelin his grandson, and to Lewelin succeeded Res his brother, neither of whom wrongfully extorted any thing beyond a mark at each year's end. But, as from the time of King Henry the truth is fully manifest, of the King, Maurice de Bercale, being moved by covetousness, under the subtle pretext that he had heard of the aforesaid Melgon having at one time required and received half a mark beyond the usual and customary rent, himself unduly extorted the harsh payment (*districtum*) for one year's term only. With respect to the 'Marewde' the Jurors said that, during their life, no Lord , as far as they remembered or had seen or understood, ever received the 'Marewde' either in the parts of Kerdigan belonging to the Lord Edward or in the parts of the same country belonging to the other Lords. In testimony whereof they set their seal to this inquisition. Dated at Lampader Vawr on the eleventh day of April in the seventh year of King Edward."¹

¹ Inq. p. m. 7 Edw. I, No. 76. I should imagine the word Marewde to mean originally "a Heriot" from the Welsh word "Marw," a dead one (see Glossary to Brut-y-Tywysogion, Record Ed.); but it seems to be here used in another sense and to imply a kind of chief rent.

The other matter alluded to in the heading of the inquisition was an "extent" of the lands then held by Griffith ap Meredith ap Owen, one of the Seignorial Lords before whom the same inquisition was taken. This has been recorded on a previous page.¹

In 1279, or at sometime within the next three years, Llewelyn exchanged the commot of Caerwedros with his uncle Griffith for that of Iscoed Uchirwern.

In the year 1283, after the conclusion of the war, we find that Llewelyn's lands had been unlawfully seized by the rapacious Res ap Meredith, to whom a portion of the forfeited lands of Griffith and Canan, the sons of Meredith ap Owen, had been granted in the previous year. In the letters patent, by which the King pardons the transgressions of the said Res ap Mereduc, it is stated that the said Res had not only illegally intruded himself into the lands which had been granted to him by the King, by his own private authority and before the letter to the King's Lieutenant had arrived with an injunction to put him in seizin thereof, of which transgression he had been convicted by his own recognizance,—but that he had moreover usurped to himself the lands of which Lewelin the son of Owen, a minor, was seized through his Guardian, at the time of the commencement of the late war, which being the right of another the King had no intention of giving away. His pardon, however, was conceded to him on the sole condition that the aforesaid lands should be restored to the said Lewelin together with all the profits which he had received from them since his usurpation.²

It was at this time, and therefore during the continued minority of the young Lord of Gwynnionith and Iscoed that Edward completed his conquest of Wales and proceeded to make provision for the future government of the country. For this purpose he took up his residence at Rhuddlan in the year 1284, from whence he issued a body of laws known as the Statute of Rhuddlan, by which the whole system of English Jurisprudence was introduced

¹ Inq. p. m. 7 Edw. I, No. 76 (Vide supra p. 216). The obligation to hold such a court, for the King's behoof, before their own inferiors and subordinates, would have been one of those encroachments upon their seignorial rights and liberties of which the sons of Meredith ap Owen complained to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1282 (Vide supra p. 169). ² Rymer's *Fædera* anno 11 Edw. I.

into Wales. From Rhuddlan Castle he issued a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Wales that he would receive them under his protection; giving them at the same time his assurance that they should hold their lands, liberties and properties by the same tenure as they had previously held them under their native Princes; the King reserving to himself the same rents, duties and services which had belonged to the Prince. Inquisitions were made into their rights by an order of the King, and their particular nature was ascertained and determined by the verdicts of Juries composed entirely of Welshmen.¹

Wales was now divided into counties; and Sheriffs, Coroners and other crown officers were appointed in each, as in England. The Districts which were under the dominion of the Lords Marchers, and in which they held their *jura regalia*, were allowed by this act to remain without any alteration, but the territories which had lately pertained to the native Princes of the House of Dynevor were formed into the present counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen. These counties were placed under the same regulations as those of England and were to be governed in all cases by the same laws and forms. When the King had completed his arrangements in North Wales he made a progress through Cardiganshire, where he remained a month to settle the affairs of South Wales, and then returned to England before Christmas; and we hear no more of the affairs of South Wales till the year 1287, when the country rose in rebellion under Sir Res ap Meredith, who was at length taken and executed at York in the year 1291.

On November 10, 1291, which would have been immediately after the execution of Res, the King concedes and confirms to his beloved Lewelin ap Oweyn that he and his heirs for ever should hold a weekly market on Wednesday at his Manor of Llandussil in the county of Kardigan, and a three days' fair there once in every year, namely on the Eve, the Day and the Morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 7, 8 & 9), unless such market or fair should be to the injury of any neighbouring market or fairs. This

¹ Warrington's History.

charter, which was given under the King's hand at Worcester, was witnessed by the Venerable Fathers Robert Bishop of Bath & Wells, Godfrey Bishop of Worcester, Thomas Bishop of St. David's, Edmund de Mortimer, Walter de Beauchamp Seneschal of the King's Household, Roger de Mortimer, Richard de Bosco, and others.¹

On the Wednesday next before the Feast of Saint Ambrose (April 2) 1305, an inquisition was taken by John Simonis, Archdeacon of Cardigan, at the command of David Martin, Bishop of St. David's, with respect to the church of Landussull and the *person* of Howel ap Lewellin,² presented to the same. The chapter reported that the church had been vacated by the death of William de Midelhull, the late Rector, on the Sunday next before the Feast of St. Edward, King and Martyr, (March 15) 1304-5. Lewelin ap Oweyn is true patron of the said church and last presented to the same "*Dominum Will. de Midelhul, et est in possessione alterius presentandi*;" the church is taxed at its true value of 30 marks and pays a pension of 20 marks to the church of St. David; the (patron's) title is indisputable.³

I find no further mention of Llewelyn ap Owen. Supposing him to have been born towards the end of 1274, he would still have been in his minority during the rebellion of Res ap Meredith from 1287 to 1291, and also during the short insurrection under the leadership of Maelgon Vychan and Canan ap Meredith in 1294. He was probably about 34 years of age at the time of his death in 1309. On May 3 of that year the King's writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued to Roger de Mortimer, the King's Justice of South Wales, ordering him to take into the King's hands the lands and tenements of Leulin ap Owayn, who held of the King *in capite*.⁴ The inquisition *post mortem* was taken at Carmarthen on the Thursday next after the Feast of Holy Trinity (May 29, 1309), when the Jury found that the said *Lewelinus ab Oweyn* held of the King *in capite* one commot and a half

¹ Rot. Chart. 19 Edw. I, No. 3. ² A singular repetition of the same name; another Howel ap Lewelin had been presented by Griffith ap Meredith ap Owen in 1274 (See p. 215). ³ Statuta Ecclesie Menevensis (Harl. MS. 1249). ⁴ Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (MS. Abbreviatio, at the Record Office) 2 Edw. II, m. 4.

and one westva in Cardiganshire *per tenuram Walensicam Pennaethuny*, that is to say by the fealty and services hereafter mentioned, namely, the service of attending the expeditions of the King and his Bailiffs with all his tenants, and that for three days at his own cost, as often as it should be necessary, on receiving a summons from the King's Bailiffs. The said Lewelin was also bound to do suit from month to month at the court of Cardigan, which is called a Welsh county; and after the death of the said Lewelin the King should receive 100s. in the name of Heriot, which is called "*Ebedin*," so that if the goods of the deceased are not sufficient to meet this payment, his heirs must make good the deficiency before they are put in seisin of his lands and tenements. All the aforesaid tenements are divisible, according to the custom of Wales, between the sons of the said Lewelin; and their annual value is £37. 17s. 10d. The said Lewelin held nothing in the said Bailiwick of any one else but the King. His sons Oweyn and Thomas are his next heirs; of whom Oweyn is eleven, and Thomas ten years of age; but the King has no rights of wardship or marriage over them although they are yet under age.¹

By this inquisition it appears that Llewelyn ap Owen died seized of a commot and a half and one westva in Cardiganshire. From later inquisitions we learn that these were the commot of Gwynnionith UchKerdyn and the Westva of Drefreyr. This, as we learn from these Carmarthenshire inquisitions, was all that he held in that Bailiwick, which probably included the two present counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen. There were certain other estates in Pembrokeshire, however, including the commot of Y Garn or Trefgarn, called also Trefgarn Owen, Travegar or West Trauger, and sundry lands and manors in the neighbourhood of Haverford West and in the Lordship of St. David's, which likewise devolved upon his children and their heirs. In the Heraldic Pedigrees Llewelyn ap Owen is usually styled Lord of Iscoed Kerdyn and Trefgarn; and Trefgarn is traditionally reputed to have been at one time the residence of Welsh Princes;² but owing to the different tenure of

¹ Inq. 2 Edw. II, No. 19. ² Lewis' Topographical Dictionary.

lands in the county of Pembroke and the paucity of inquisitions in the territories of the Lords Marchers I am unable to say with certainty whether these estates were of the inheritance of Llewelyn ap Owen or his wife. I have also much difficulty in ascertaining who the wife of Llewelyn really was. In some of the old Heraldic Pedigrees she is called Elen or Elianor, daughter of William de Barry;¹ but I think it more likely that she was the daughter (and heiress) of Sir Robert Y Val,² de Vale, or de la Vale, Lord of Trefgarn.

Llewelyn left, as we have seen, two sons Owen and Thomas, and he is said to have also had several daughters.

In a Pedigree preserved in the Golden Grove MS. these daughters are thus given:—1. Isabella, wife of Gwylin ap Eineon, Lord of Towyn and Constable of

¹ The wife of Llewelyn ap Owen is called the daughter of William de Barry in the Pedigree of Roland Lloyd of Kell-i-gadod (Lewis Dwnn's Her. Vis. Wal. Vol. II, p. 53). In the Pedigree of the Lords of Towyn she is called "Elenor Parr" (Ibid. Vol. I, p. 61). She may possibly have been one of the family of De Barr or Barry, of which one branch were Lords of Maynor Beer, Pennaley and Begalley in the county of Pembroke. She was certainly not, as she is called by the Heralds who were employed to draw up the Pedigree of King Henry VII, the daughter of William Comte de Barr by Elinor the daughter of King Edward I. ² According to Griffith Hiraethog, a celebrated Welsh Antiquary and Genealogist, who lived in the time of King Henry VIII, the wife of Llewelyn ap Owen and mother of his sons Owen and Thomas was the daughter of Sir Robert Y Val, Arglwydd Trefgarn Owen (Orig. MS. G. H. T. p. 49—*pene* W. W. E. Wynne, Esq. of Peniarth). On June 7, 1285, Robert de Valle was next witness after John, Earl Warren, to a deed of Res ap Meredith (see p. 191). On December 5, 1293, Robertus de Vale had a charter for a weekly market at his manor of Val in the county of Pembroke, and also for a weekly market at his manor of Redwalles [or Vagwrgoch] in the same county (Rot. Chart. ao 22 Edw. I pars unica, No. 33). In the following year (23 Edw. I) William de Valence and Joan his wife had permission to renew a claim which they had formerly made to the jurisdiction of the men and tenants of the Baronies of Haverford and de la Roche, of the men and tenants of Osmondeston, Haraldeston, &c., and of the men and tenants of Robert du Val, of the fee of the said Robert, of Mulhok and Baketon (or Byketon), and to all pleas &c. within the said Baronies and fees of which the cognizance belongs to the Sheriff or Seneschal, together with the suit of the Baron de la Roche and the homage and service of the said Robert du Val, of all which they had been seized until they were ejected by Alianore the late consort of the said King Edward I (Rot. Parl. Vol. I, p. 34). It would seem that they were not able to establish their seignorial claim over Robert du Val, for in 25 Edw. I, the writ of *diem clausit extremum* is issued to Simon de Foxley the King's Bailiff of Haverford ordering him to take into the King's hands all the lands (in his Bailiwick) of which Robert de Val, who held of the King *in capite* was seized on the day of his death (Abbreviatio Rot. Orig. p. 98, 25 Edw. I, Ro. 5). I can find no record of the inquisition as to these Pembrokeshire lands of Robert de Val, nor have I succeeded in fully identifying them. There was a Robert de la Val, who died in that same year (on September 11, 1297), seized of the manor of Seton la Vale and other manors in the county of Northumberland, but I have no reason to think that this was the same person as the Pembrokeshire proprietor. The heir of this Northumbrian Robert was his sister Marjery, born of the same father and mother, who was 30 years of age at the time of her brother's death and then the wife of Andrew de Smytheton (Cal. Genealog. ao 25 Edw. I, No. 47). Marjery de Smytheton died in 1311—12, when her nearest heir was found to be her cousin Robert de la Vale, son of her uncle Hugh de la Vale (Inq. p. m. 5 Edw. II, No. 70).

Cardigan.¹ 2. Eleanor, wife of Llewelyn ap Philip, of Rydodin.² 3. Gwenllian, wife of Gwyllim ap Griffith Goch, of the county of Cardigan.³ 4. Lleiki⁴ (or Lucy) wife of Meredith ap Owen.

By writ, dated at Llangele, on June 17, 1309, the King orders Roger Mortimer, his Justice of South Wales, after taking security for payment of the Heriot, to give to Owen and Thomas, the sons of Llewelyn, full seizin of the commot and a half and one westva in Cardiganshire which their father had held of the King *in capite*, saving the right of any other.⁵

The heirs of Owen ap Meredith had evidently never acquiesced in their deprivation of the commot of Anhunog, which had fallen into the King's hands during the minority of Llewelyn ap Owen. It was doubtless claimed as their right by the sons of Llewelyn ap Owen, after they had attained their majority; and this would account for another inquisition being taken at Carmarthen, by the King's orders, on the Saturday next after the Feast of St. Michael (October 1) 1328, for the purpose of ascertaining what lands had been held of the King by Owen ap Meredith, their grandfather, at the time of his death. The jury found that he held the whole commot of Hanunyauk by the Welsh law, and that he died seized of it in time of peace; he held also a moiety of the commot of Gwynneonyth UchKerdyn and the whole commot of Kerwedros besides one westva called Drefreyr,

¹ The family of the Lords of Towyn in Cardiganshire afterwards assumed the name of Vaughan. Their ancestor Gwyllim ap Eineon, Constable of Cardigan, the first Lord of Towyn, is said to have married Isabel daughter to Llewellyn ab Owain ab Meredydd ab Gruffydd, Lord of Iscoed (Her. Vis. Wal. Vol. I, pp. 66, 167; and Meyrick's Hist. Cardigan, p. 174). ² Llewelyn ap Philip of Rydodin is said to have married Elen or Elenor "daughter of Llewelyn ap Owen Lord of Iscoed Kerdin and Thregarn Owen," and their son David ap Llewelyn of Rydodyn, Esq., married Angharad the daughter and heiress of Sir Morgan ap Meredith, Knight, which Angharad was ancestress, by a former husband, of the Morgans of Tredegar (Her. Vis. Wal. Vol. I, pp. 220, 225). ³ Gwenllian, daughter of "Llewelyn ap Owen, Lord of Iscoed Kerdin," is said to have married Gwyllim ap Griffith Goch, of co. Cardigan (Mr. J. Morris' MS.) This was probably Gwyllim Llwyd, of Castle-Howel, in the parish of Llandysil co. Cardigan, Esq. (Meyrick's Cardigan, p. 150. Compare also Her. Vis. Wal. Vol. I, pp. 38, 227). Gwyllim Llwyd, who is described as 5th in descent from Cedivor ap Dinawol, was probably the builder of the first mansion on the Castle-Howel estate. He lived in the reign of King Edward II, and was the first of Cedivor's descendants that assumed a surname (Meyrick's Cardigan, p. 150). ⁴ Lleiki, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Owen, is described in the Pedigree of the Princes of South Wales, as having had by Meredith ap Owen a daughter Elianor who married her cousin [rather her uncle] Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen as his second wife (Golden Grove MS.) According to another account this Lleiki is said to have been the wife of son of Robert ap Bledri (Mr. J. Morris' MS.) ⁵ Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (MS. Abbreviatio) 2 Edw. II, m. 3.

of all of which he died seized; and after his death his son Lewelin ap Oweyn exchanged the said commot of Kerwedros with his uncle Griffin ap Meredith for the commot of Iscoyt Uchirwern; and the said Griffin afterwards forfeited the commot of Cayrwedros for taking up arms against the King, by reason of which it still remains in the King's hands. The commot of Hanunyauk is of the annual value of £36. 14s. 10½d. together with the sale of the office of Bailiffs; and it contains £7 below that sum. The commot of Gwynneonyth UchKerdin is of the annual value of sixteen marks. Owen ap Lewelin and Thomas ap Lewelin are the nearest heirs of the said Owen ap Meredith, and they are of the age of 28 years and more. The said commot of Hanunyauk came into the hands of the Lord Edward formerly King of England, grandfather of the King that now is, and it has ever since remained in the King's hands, namely for 52 years, and this was in the time of Pain de Chaworth, then Justice of South Wales, who took the same commot into the King's hands, and it so remains up to the present time.¹

In a subsequent inquisition, taken at Rothelan Geyny before Philip de Clannowe, Lieutenant to the Justice of South Wales, on the Wednesday next before the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (March 22) 1335, the Jury reported that Lewelin, the father of Oweyn ap Llewelin and of Thomas his brother, was seized of the commot of Annynyak, in the county of Cardigan, as of right and inheritance, in the time of King Edward, grandfather of the King that now is (viz. of Edward III), until Griffin ap Mereduc and Canan his brother rose against the said King (viz. Edward I), who conquered from the said Griffin and Canan the whole land of the said county of Cardigan; and at that time the said commot of Annynyak was conquered into the King's hands with the other lands of that county, and so that commot came into, and still remains in, the King's hands. The aforesaid Owen and Thomas are the nearest heirs of the aforesaid Lewelin and of full age. Moreover the

¹ Inq. 2 Edw. III (1 Nrs.) No. 47. As the commot of Kerwedros had now passed away from the heirs of Owen ap Meredith the Jury do not seem to have considered themselves called upon to make enquiry as to its value.

aforesaid Owen and Thomas have never given up or quit-claimed their right to the said commot either to Edward, the King's grandfather, or to the King's father, or yet to the present King, or in any way exchanged it. The said commot is held of the King by the service of doing suit at the court of Cardigan and of serving the King in the time of war. The said commot is of the annual value of about £30. 10s. 5d. One William de Knoville holds one westva in the said commot by the gift of the late King Edward, grandfather of the present King, which is of the value of 100s.¹

Notwithstanding this repeated affirmation of the right of the sons of Llewelyn to the commot of Anhunog by the verdicts of successive Juries they never obtained any footing therein, nor do I find that they ever received any compensation for the loss of their lands; from which, as from some other circumstances, I am disposed to infer that the nominal concession by King Edward to the conquered Welshmen of having their causes tried by a Jury of their own countrymen, for which act of grace he has gained such credit with posterity, was less in reality than appearance, as it would seem that the verdicts of the Welshmen were liable to rejection when they proved unfavourable to the English interests.

By this repudiation of the title of these Welsh Lords to the commot of Anhunog their lands in Cardiganshire were reduced by nearly one half; and when Edward, afterwards known as the Black Prince, who had lately been created Prince of Wales and invested with the *insignia* of the Principality, sent Richard de Stafford and other commissioners to take possession of the Principality in his name and receive the homage of his Welsh Vassals it would seem that there were none in Cardiganshire whose lands were sufficiently extensive to entitle them to hold by Barony. The commissioners commenced their progress towards the close of July, 1343, and when they had made the circuit of North Wales they held a court

¹ Inq. 9 Edw. III (2nd Nrs.) No. 64a. It appears that William de Knovill was Lord of the westva of Thleswen, which included the Randirs of Bedlawarnech, Honnenen, Nanchewedraf and Tleswen, and which was granted by King Edward I on December 5, 1280, to his ancestor John de Knovill for his good and faithful service to the King, to hold to him and his heirs of the King and his heirs for ever, for which they were to render the service of one horse caparisoned at the castle of Lampader (Plac. de quo waranto 18 Edw. III).

at Llanbadarn Vawr on the Tuesday after the Feast of St. Lawrence (August 12) and another at Cardigan two days later, namely on the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in same year.¹

Those who did fealty at Cardigan on this occasion were Robert Clement, Rees ap Jevan Vaghan, Grenou ap Meiler, Owayn ap Meredith, Jevan ap Hewelin ap Gowrgenne, Leulin ap Adaf ap Res, Madoc Duy ap Hweilin ap Gwaltole, and others; amongst whom we do not recognise the heirs of Llewelyn ap Owen unless we suppose the elder brother to have been described as Owayn ap Meredith, under the patronimic of his grandfather, which is not improbable. Thomas the younger brother was probably dead at this time and his son Owen a minor. It was however presented by the Jury of the town of Cardigan, on the same day (August 14) that the English court of the county of Cardigan was accustomed to be held at Cardigan on a Tuesday, and that those who used to do suit there were Geoffrey Clement, John Cnovill, the Abbots of Strata Florida, Alba Landa, Tallacha, and Comhir, the Abbess of Lanller, Roger de Mortimer, Owynus ap Lewelyn ap Oweyn, Thomas ap *Howel* ap Oweyn, Meredith ap Res, Res ap Meredith, John Baret and Philip Donne.²

I have no doubt that this Owyn ap Lewelyn ap Oweyn and Thomas (inaccurately described as the son of *Howel* ap Oweyn) were the two sons of Llewelyn ap Owen, and that Thomas was dead at the time of the presentment and his lands in possession of his son Owen.

The Jury of the commot of Iscoyt on the same day presented that the names of those who (now) owed suit at the court of Cardigan were "L'evesque de Seint David, Monsire Rees ap Griffith, les heirs Monsire Roger de Mortimer, L'abbe de Stratflour, L'abbe de Blaunchelaunde, L'abbe de Talleghu, L'abbe de Cumhire, L'abbesse de Nanlle, Oweyn ap Oweyn, Oweyn ap Thomas, les heires Gronow ap Tydyr, Roger de Mortimer, le Mestre de Slebeche, Ricardus Garaud, Johannes Geraud, les heirs John Bared, le heir William Dyer, Priour de Cardigan,

¹ Ministers' Accounts, early series, 16 & 17 Edw. III, No. 16 (Arch. Camb. 3rd series, Original Documents, p. cxlvij. & seq.) ² Ibid. (Arch. Camb. p. clvij.)

et Robert Clement."¹ Those here called Oweyn ap Oweyn and Oweyn ap Thomas were unquestionably Owen ap Llewelyn ap Owen and his nephew Owen, son of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, whom we find in possession of the family estates in the following year.

In 1344 Oweyn ap Llewelyn ap Oweyn, Lord of a moiety of the commot of Iscoyt Ugh'irwern, and a fourth part of the commot of Gwynnyoneth and also of one westwa in Mabwynnyon called the westwa of Starrok, was summoned before Gilbert Talbot and others, who had been appointed Justices of *oyer and terminer* for the Prince, to appear at Cardigan on the Monday next after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 20, and to shew by what warrant he claims, for himself and his heirs, to hold his three free courts, namely one court in each of the aforesaid Lordships, from quinzaine to quinzaine by himself or his Bailiffs, and therein to take cognizance of all pleas, as well crown pleas as all others, without brief, according to the law and custom of Wales, together with many other extensive seigneurial rights.²

In like manner Oweyn ap Thomas ap Thlewelyn ap Oweyn, Lord of a moiety of Iscoyt Ugh'irwern and a fourth part of the commot of Gwynnyonyth, was summoned to shew by what warrant he claimed, for himself and his heirs, to hold his two free courts, namely one in each of the said Lordships, on the quinzaine (of Easter), and other similar seigneurial rights to those which were claimed by Llewelyn ap Owen.³

On September 29, 1345, Resus ap Griffith, Owanus ap Oweyn, Thlewelinus Eignoun, and Vaghan Resus Bungan, are named as commissioners of array to raise two thousand men from the land of South Wales for the war in France, one half of whom were to be lancers or spearmen and the other half archers, to meet the King at Portsmouth within three weeks of Michaelmas at the latest.⁴

On November 8, 1355, Oweyn ap Lewelin ap Oweyn and Oweyn ap Thomas had presented John de Woodhull, Chaplain, to the church of Llandussul then vacant, and Thomas, Bishop of St. David's, issues his writ to the Archdeacon of Cardigan, ordering him to hold an

¹ Minister's Accounts. (Arch. Camb. p. clvij.) ² Placita de quo waranto 18 Edw. III, Rot. 6. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Rymer's Fædera.

inquisition for the purpose of ascertaining their right to present &c. The three beneficed clergy of the Deanery of Sub Ayron, who were summoned as his assessors, on the 12th of the same month reported that the said church had been vacated by the resignation of John Clement, the late Rector, on the Saturday next before the Feast of St. Martin, Bishop (November 6), of the same year, as the said chapter had heard from the relation of others. The right of presentation is indisputable. The church pays an annual pension to the church of St. David's of twenty marks of silver. Oweyn ap Lewelin and Oweyn ap Thomas are the rightful patrons, who last presented the said John Clement to the same church, and the right to present belongs to them.¹

If I am right in assuming that Owen ap Llewelyn ap Owen was sometimes called Owen ap Owen, it is probable that the following inquisition, which was taken at Tenby on the Monday next after the Feast of the Purification (February 5), 1359, refers to the death of his wife. The Jury reported that Avise, who had been the wife of Owen ap Oweyn, deceased, held no lands or tenements of the King *in capite* at the time of her death. But a certain John de Barry had been seized, in demesne as of fee, of the manors of Maynerbire, Pennaly and Begely, in the county of Pembroke, which he gave to his brother David de Barry and the heirs male of his body, and David being so seized by virtue of the said gift, demised the said manors to the same John de Barry his brother for term of life, and afterwards died. After whose death the said John de Barry, being only seized for the term of his life, alienated the said manors to a certain Richard son of Thomas in fee, and the said Richard son of Thomas immediately demised the aforesaid manors to the said John de Barry and Beatrice his wife for the term of their lives. David de Barry son and heir of the aforesaid David de Barry recently entered into the aforesaid manors, and the aforesaid John de Barry, being seized in the manner aforesaid, by his deed remitted and quit-claimed to David the son of David all his right and title therein, and bound himself and his heirs to warranty. The aforesaid David son of David de Barry was

¹ Statuta ecclesiæ Menevensis (Harl. MSS. 1249).

accordingly seized of the aforesaid manors for a while until Richard de Barry, brother of the aforesaid David, with a number of armed men disseized the said David son of David de Barry by force, and died seized of the aforesaid manors; after whose death the aforesaid Avice, wife of Owen ap Oweyn, who was the daughter and heiress of the aforesaid Richard de Barry, entered upon the said manors and died seized of them in demesne as of fee, which Avice held the manors of Maynerbir' and Pennaly of the heir of Lawrence de Hastynge, late Earl of Pembroke, as of his castle of Pembroke, who is under age and in the King's custody, by Knight's service, and she held the manor of Begely of John de Carrue by Knight's service. Avice died without issue on the Vigil of the Assumption 32 Edw. III (August 14, 1358). The manors of Maynerbir' and Pennaly are worth £30 *per annum*, and the manor of Begely is worth £10 *per annum*, and David de Barry son of David de Barry son of the aforesaid David de Barry, is the cousin and heir of the aforesaid Avice, wife of Owen ap Oweyn, namely the son of David de Barry, the brother of Richard de Barry, father of the said Avice, and he is now 24 years of age and more.¹

I find no more mention of Owen ap Llewelyn ap Owen, who is described as being deceased at the time of the above quoted inquisition. He is said to have died without issue,² and his share of lands devolved upon the heirs of his brother Thomas. Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, the younger son of Llewelyn ap Owen, must have died before August 14, 1343, when his son Owen ap Thomas was in possession of his lands.

Thomas ap Llewelyn is said to have married Elinor, the daughter and heiress of Philip ap Ivor,³ Lord of Iscoed, by whom he had a son Owen and two daughters eventually his coheirs.

¹ Inq. 33 Edw. III (1 Nrs.) No. 16. ² Hengwrt MS. No. 109, p. 49 (being Griffith Hiraethog Y Llyfr Tene or the narrow Book). It is there stated that the mother of Thomas ap Lln. ap Owen was the daughter of S. Robert Y Val Arglwydd tref garn Owan which took its name (of Owen) from Owain ap Lln. brother of Thomas ap Lln. the which Owain died without heirs and his Lordship came to Thomas his brother. ³ It is so stated in most of the ancient Welsh Pedigrees, and the arms of Philip ap Ivor, *azure an eagle displayed or*, have been quartered by the Leightons and other descendants of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, but I am unable to make out, or even to conjecture, who or what Philip ap Ivor was, or indeed whether there was ever such a person. In some of the Pedigrees the wife of Thomas is called Elinor Goeh daughter and heiress of Philip ap Ivor ap Cadivor ap Gwaithvoed (Hengwrt MS. No. 96; Golden Grove MS.;

We have seen that Owen ap Thomas was living in 1355. He probably died soon after; when his lands descended to his two sisters, Elen the wife of Griffith Vychan ap Griffith ap Madoc, Lord of Glyndyfrdwy and Cynllaeth Owen, and Eleanor or Margaret wife of William ap Griffith ap William ap Griffith, Lord of Mawddwy. In the partition of lands between them it would seem that the Lordship of Iscoed and a portion of Gwynnionith fell to the wife of Griffith Vychan, and the Lordship of Trefgarn Owen and a portion of Gwynnionith to the wife of the Lord of Mawddwy.

and others;) and in the "Glamorganshire Pedigrees," printed for Mr. Clark of Dowlais, Ivor, the father of Philip ap Ivor, is described as the 3rd son of Meyric ap Cedivor, Lord of Iscaiaich, by his wife Nest the daughter and heiress of Madoc ap Caradoc ap Einion ap Collwyn, Lord of Senghenydd, of which territory she was the heiress. Of this marriage Griffith ap Ivor, Lord of Senghenydd, from whom the family of Lewis of the Van was descended, was the eldest son, Llewelyn the 2nd, and Philip the 3rd. Philip ap Ivor married Catherine, daughter of Llewelyn, Lord of Glyn Nedd, by whom he had a daughter Ellen wife of Thomas ap Llewelyn. Meyric the father of Ivor Bach was the son of Cedivor ap Cydrick, Lord of Iscaiaich, 2nd son of Cydrick ap Gwaithvoed Vawr. But if this Pedigree have any foundation on truth there must be several descents omitted between Ivor Bach and Gwaithvoed. A Pedigree in the Golden Grove MS. ascribes to Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, for a second wife, his niece Elianor, the daughter of a certain Meredith ap Owen by Lleiky, daughter of Llewelyn ap Owen, and gives him a son by her, named Meredith, who married Eva, daughter of Llewelyn ap Cadwgan, of Carrog, and had issue two daughters, namely Eva, wife of Jenkin Lloyd of Blaiddbwl in Kemeys, and Margaret (or Elen) wife of Griffith ap Jevan. If such a marriage between Thomas ap Llewelyn and Elianor daughter of Meredith ap Owen and Lleiky ever took place, it would have been invalid without a special dispensation from the church, and the issue of such a marriage would have been illegitimate. The following curious note, in a later handwriting, is appended to the Pedigree above quoted, and is there said to be copied from a Pedigree in the possession of Dr. Davies, of Carmarthen; "This Jenkin Lloyd of Blaidd bwl in Kemeys was a powerful gentleman and of ample possessions in the time of the civil wars with the Houses of York and Lancaster, and being a partizan of the former he changed the colour of his charge, making the lion and roses white. Note that Meredith, Lord of Iscoed (whose daughter had married Jenkin Lloyd according to this Pedigree) was by the malice of Adam Houghton, Bishop of St. David's (who was Bishop from 1361 to 1388,) pronounced illegitimate because his father had married his cousin germain [niece?] for his second wife, who was the mother of Meredith, and all his lands fell to his sisters of the half blood by the father's first marriage, whose posterity enjoy part of it to this day, viz., the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Bradford, &c. The occasion of the quarrel between Meredith and the Bishop was this,—the latter, then residing at Llwydynn in Cardigan, kept a pack of hounds, as did Meredith, then holding his court, supposed to be at Cefn-y-maes, in the neighbourhood. The packs occasionally meeting, the prelate took a fancy to some of the chief's hounds, which being refused him, out of resentment he pronounced Meredith illegitimate." The story here given is probably the invention of a later age; but it may possibly be founded on fact. Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived about a century earlier, gives a sprightly but unsparing description of the faults of the Welshmen of his own day. Amongst other things he mentions that "the crime of incest was lightly regarded by all, nobles as well as common people, inasmuch that they were not ashamed to marry within the fourth and fifth and even within the third degree of consanguinity, having no fear of God before their eyes" (*Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II, p. 450). Such a marriage as that ascribed to Thomas ap Llewelyn would at all times have been deemed an incestuous one; and if the offspring of such a connection contested the right of succession to the lands of Owen ap Thomas it might well happen that the Bishop's evidence should be taken as to the validity of his title on the ground of legitimacy, which would certainly have been given against him.

Griffith ap Res ap Griffith ap Res ap Tudor Mawr, = Maud (or Mallt), daughter of William de Prince of South Wales; ob. July 25, 1201.		Braose, Lord of Brecknock, ob. Dec. 29, 1210.	
Res ap Griffith, Lord of Cardigan UchAyrion; ob. August, 1222.	Owen ap Griffith, heir to his brother Res, = Lord of Cardigan UchAyrion; ob. Jan. 18, 1235.		
	Meredith ap Owon, Lord of Cardigan UchAyrion, which he exchanged with Maelgon Vychan for Cardigan IsAyrion; ob. 1265.		
Owen ap Griffith, eldest son, Lord of Anlunog, Caerwedros, and a moiety of Gwynnionith; ob. Aug. 15, 1275.	Angharad, daughter of Owon ap Meredith, Lord of Kedewen.		Meredith = Gwenllian
	Griffith ap Meredith, 2nd son, Lord of Mevenyth, Iscoed Uchirwern, and portions of Mabwynneon and Gwynnionith; taken in 1283 and imprisoned in London.		
Llewelyn ap Owon, Lord of a moiety of Gwynnionith, and of Caerwedros until he exchanged it with his uncle Griffith for Iscoed Uchirwern; ob. 1309.		Jonet (?) wife of Geoffrey Clement. See Table V.	
Llewelyn ap Owon, Lord of a moiety of Iscoed Uchirwern, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Gwynnionith; and Lord of Trefgarn; living in 1355; ob. s.p. before Aug. 14, 1358.		Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owon, Lord of a moiety of Iscoed Uchirwern and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Gwynnionith; dead before Aug. 14, 1343.	
Owen ap Llewelyn ap Owon, Lord of a moiety of Iscoed Uchirwern, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Gwynnionith; and Lord of Trefgarn; living in 1355; ob. s.p. before Aug. 14, 1358.		Elen, sister and coheir of Owon ap Thomas; wife of Griffith Vychan, Lord of Glyndyfrdwy.	
Owen ap Thomas, Lord of a moiety of Iscoed Uchirwern and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Gwynnionith; Aug. 1343; living in 1355; ob. s.p.		Eleanor (or Margaret) sister and coheir of Owon ap Thomas; wife of William ap Griffith de la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy; and afterwards of Tudor ap Grono, Knt.	

Griffith Vychan, Lord of Glyndyfrdwy, the husband of Elen verch Thomas ap Llewelyn, was the son of Griffith ap Madoc, Lord of Glyndyfrdwy, and third in descent from Griffith Vychan, Lord of Yale, younger son of Griffith ap Madoc ap Griffith Maelor, Lord of Bromfield or Lower Powis.¹ They had issue two sons Owen and Tudor; and three daughters, namely, Lowry, wife of

¹ By deed, dated at Dynasbran on the morrow of St. Thomas the Apostle (Dec. 22) 1270, Madoc, Llewelyn, Owen and Griffin, sons of Griffin, Lord of Bromfield, conceded to the Lady Emma their mother, for the term of her life, all the lands and tenements which the said Griffin their father gave to her during his life, namely the country of Mailor Saisenech, with the appurtenances, the manor of Overton with the mill and stream and all other appurtenances, the manor of Hagneme' (Hanmer) with the appurtenances, Lannerpanna with the appurtenances, Colton with the appurtenances, and all the vills which are situate in the country of Mailor Saisenech, the manor of Eyton in Mailor Bemorat with the mill and park and all other appurtenances, and two parcels of land situate in the said park (of which the one was purchased by [their uncle] the Lord Howel son of Madoc from all the heirs of Herbestoc subject to an annual rent of 12 gallons of beer or the price thereof at the Feast of St. Michael, and the other particle was freely given by the aforesaid heirs of Herbestoc to the Lord Griffin their father), the vill of Lanarmon with the appurtenances in Beullerton, together with those lands which the Lady Ysota their grandmother, with the consent of the Lord Madoc their grandfather and the Lord Griffin their father, purchased of Cadegan and Eirit and Enion the sons of Doyoc, which are called Lloytleir to have and to hold all the aforesaid tenements with the appurtenances, of them and their heirs, as long as she should live. Madoc ap Griffith-Maelor, the grandfather of Madoc, Llewelyn, Owen and Griffith, died in 1235. Griffith ap Madoc, Lord of Bromfield, died in 1270. His wife Emma was the daughter of Henry de Audley (*Calendarium Genealogicum* Vol. I, p. 260). There is a tradition preserved by Yorke and others that Madoc and Llewelyn, the two elder sons of Griffith ap Madoc and Emma his wife, having been given over by their mother to King Edward I, were by him respectively committed, together with their lands, to the custody of John Earl Warren and Roger Mortimer, who strengthened their charge with two strong castles, those of Holt and Chirk; "and, as it might happen, the wards were missing and no more found" (*Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 62). This tradition is disproved by the deed above quoted. Madoc the eldest son was dead before December 10, 1278, when King Edward I, by letters patent dated at Shrewsbury, granted the custody of all the lands of which Madoc de Brumfeld had died seized in demesne as of fee, and the issues and profits thereof, to Griffin son of Jerworth, the said Griffin to account for the same to Anian then Bishop of St. Asaph and to Margaret the widow of the said Madoc, for the sustentation of the two sons and heirs of the said Madoc (Rot. Wall. 6 Edw. I). On January 3, 1282, the King orders Roger de Mortimer and Walter de Hopton to administer justice to the said Margaret, who claims her right in "Corveyn, Carruic, Mistwer, Bonu' and Rechald" as in estates which Madoc her husband had assigned to her in dower, and complains that they are unjustly detained from her by Griffin Vaghan de Yal (her husband's brother). On the following day the same Justices have orders to hear and determine the complaint of Margaret, widow of Madoc Vaghan, that Llewelyn Vaghan unjustly occupies the land of Megheyn, which is of the inheritance of Llewelyn and Griffin the sons and heirs of the said Madoc, and which ought to be in the custody of the said Margaret and of faithful men of the said inheritance, according to the law and custom of those parts, until the time that the said heirs should prove their age (Rot. Wall. 9 Edw. I, m. 12). By deed dated at Rhuddlan on October 7, 1282, King Edward I granted and confirmed to John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, the castle of Dinas Bran which was in the King's hands at the commencement of the present Welsh war, and all the land of Bromfeld which Griffin and Llewelyn the sons of Madoc Vaghan held by themselves or by their Tutors or Guardians at the commencement of the said war (Rot. Wall. 10 Edw. I, m. 3); so that if there be any foundation for the tradition above mentioned it will have applied to the grandsons of Griffith ap Madoc and Emma rather than to their sons. Of Llewelyn, the 2nd son of Griffith ap Madoc Lord of Bromfield and Emma de Audley, all I can learn is that in November, 1282,

Robert Puleston of Emral, Esq.; Morvydd, wife of Sir

Llewelyn son of Griffin son of Madoc, complains to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the King's Constable of Croes Oswalt (or Oswestry) and the men of that town had spoiled him of a third part of the town called Ledrot [in Cynllaeth] and other rights; moreover the King of England had granted his letters to a certain bastard, namely Griffin Fychan ab Cynllaeth, to litigate against the said Llewelyn for the purpose of obtaining his whole dominion, by reason of which letters he had been put to a cost of £200 (Appendix to Warrington's History of Wales). It is probable that, like most of his countrymen, Llewelyn ap. Griffith lost his lands by forfeiture in that or the following year. Owen, who from the order in which his name occurs in the joint Deed of Gift to his mother I take to have been the 3rd son of Griffith ap Madoc and Emma, was Lord of a moiety of Cynllaeth, from him called Cynllaeth Owen; he was Rector of "Blanchebir," on January 11, 1283 (Mr. J. Morris' MS.); and on his death his portion of Cynllaeth devolved upon his brother Griffith Vychan. Griffith Vychan, the youngest son of Griffith ap Madoc and Emma, succeeded to the Lordship of Yal, and that of Glyndyfrdwy in Edeirneon. By a treaty between King Edward I and Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales, dated on the Tuesday next before the Feast of St. Martin 5 Edw. I, 1277, it is stipulated that Griffin Vychan shall do homage to the King for the lands which he holds in Yal and to Llewelyn for the lands which he holds in Llewelyn's dominion. By deed dated in February, 1278, "Griffinus Vychan filius Griffini ap Madog Dominus de Yal" grants the manor of Llandegla (iu Yale) to Anian, Bishop of St. Asaph, and his successors (Willis' St. Asaph, pp. 152, 153; Thomas' History of St. Asaph). In January 1281 we find him unjustly withholding from his sister in law Margaret the lands which Madoc ap Griffith his brother had given to her in dower. About the same time he writes to the King complaining of Margaret widow of Madoc Vychan Lord of Bromfield that she had impleaded him before the King's Justices and before Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, for certain lands and tenements in Glynddynyrd in Edeirnyaun which he held in capite by the King's license and by the concession of the said Llewelyn (Calendar of Royal and other letters and writs, No. 1986). By charter dated on Oct. 7, 1282, the King grants to John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, the land of Yal which belonged to Griffin Vaghan son of Griffin de Bromfield, the King's enemy, at the same time that he gives to the said John de Warren the lands of Bromfield which Griffin and Llewelyn the sons of Madoc Vaghan had held (Rot. Wall. 10 Edw. I, m. 3). In November of the same year Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of Wales, complains to the Archbishop of Canterbury that "whereas it is stipulated in the peace that Gruffyth Vadhan should do homage to the King for the land in Yale and to the Prince for the land in Ederneon, the King's Justices brought the Lady of Maylor into all the said lands of Edeyrneon;—the knowledge of which cause pertained to the Prince, and not to the said Justices; and yet for the sake of peace, the Prince did tolerate all this, being at all times ready to do justice to the said lady" (Warrington's Wales, p. 573 appendix). It would seem that the land of Glyndyfrdwy was also taken from Griffith Vychan about this time and granted to his nephew Griffin son of Madoc Vaghan, for on Feb. 11, 11 Edw. I, 1283, (if we may trust to the accuracy of the transcriber) the King on behalf of Griffin Vaghan notifies to his bailiffs &c., that, at the request of his beloved and faithful John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, he has conceded to *Griffin Vaghan son of Madoc* that he should hold the land of Glyndor'do of the King at the King's will; but so that the said Griffin Vaghan should give the King his letters patent by which he should confess that he has no right to hold the said lands except at the King's will (Mr. J. Morris' MS). If this grant does not really apply to *Griffith Vychan ap Griffith* instead of *Griffith ap Madoc* it is probable that the latter did not long hold possession of the Lordship of Glyndyfrdwy. I should suppose that Griffith Vychan soon afterwards made his peace with the King and compounded with the King's grantee for his possessions in Edeirneon by relinquishing his claim to those in Yal; for, by deed without date, but preserved in the Close Roll of 11 Edw. I (1283), "Griffinus Vaghan filius Griffini de Bromfeud" granted to John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, "totam terram et tenementum de Yal que aliquando habui pro partem hereditatis predieti Griffini patris mei contingentem" (so transcribed in Mr. J. Morris' MS. from Rot. Clans. 11 Edw. I, memb. 9 in dorso); and by charter dated on July 22, 1284, the King grants to Griffin son of Griffin de Bromfield that he should hold his lands *per baroniam* as his ancestors had held them; but the entry is corrected by a marginal note, stating that the tenure of Griffith was not to be by Barony, but at the will of the King (Rot. Wall. 12 Edw. I, m. 5). Griffith Vychan ap Griffith was succeeded as Lord of Glyn-

Richard Croft; and another who married David ap Ednyfed Gam.¹

Owen ap Griffith, the eldest son of Griffith Vychan and Elen, afterwards known as the famous Owen Glendower, is said to have been born at Trefgarn,² the residence of his maternal grandfather (uncle?), on May 28, 1359.³ He succeeded to his father's lands and manors,⁴ except the manor of Gwyddelwern in Merionethshire (which was the portion of his younger brother), as also to his mother's possessions in South Wales. As Owen Sire de Glendore he appears as a witness in the celebrated Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, on the side of Robert le Grosvenor, on September 3, 1386. He then stated in his deposition that he was twenty-seven years of age and more.⁵

dyfrdwy and Cynllaeth by his son Madoc ap Griffith, who is said to have married Gwenllian, daughter of Ithel Vychan, of Northop and Mostyn in Englefield, by whom he had a son and heir Griffith. Sir John l'Estrange, Lord of Knockin, bought for his daughter Elizabeth, from Madoc ap Griffith, the marriage of the said Griffith, his son and heir, for which he paid £50 sterling (Rot. Parl. Vol. I, p. 306). Madoc ap Griffith died on November 11, 1305-6, seized of the land of Glyndon'do containing the fourth part of a commot and of Kentleth (Cynllaeth) containing the moiety of a commot, which lands he held of the King *in capite per Baroniam Wallensicam*, namely by the fealty and service of attending the King's army, with his men, whenever it should be necessary. Glendon'do was estimated at the annual value of £24 13s. 4d. and Kentleth at £35. Griffith, his son and heir, was born on the Feast of St. Clement (Nov. 23) 1298 (Inq. p. m. 14 Edw. II, No. 13). In 1328 "Griffinus de Glyndoverde" fined 20 marks for licence to enfeoff Walter de Mutton and Walter Huse in the manors of Glyndoverde and Kenlith with the appurtenances (Grossi Fines 2 Edw. III, ro. 22). The said Griffith ap Madoc, Lord of Glyndyfrdwy and Cynllaeth, was Steward of Oswestry under Richard FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel in 1347 (Mr. J. Morris' MS.) He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Strange of Knockin, by his wife Maud daughter of Roger d'Eiville, at Rhuddallt, on the quinzaine of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, (July 8) 1304 (vide King's writ to the Bishop of St. Asaph and return thereto, anno 11 Edw. II, taken from the Red Book of St. Asaph by Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, *ex inf.* Mr. J. Morris). Their son Griffith Vychan Lord of Glyndyfrdwy was the husband of Elen daughter and coheir of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, Lord of Iscoed, Gwynnionith, and Trefgarn.

¹ Sir Samuel Meyrick informs us, in a note to the Heraldic Visitations of Wales (Vol. II, p. 151), that on the failure of the issue of Owen Glendwr his armorial bearings were adopted by the Pulestons, viz.: *Paly of eight, argent and gules, over all a lion rampant sable*. The Pulestons may very likely have assumed the Royal Arms of Powys Fadog in consequence of this marriage, but it cannot be asserted that they did so on account of the failure of Owen Glendower's female issue. ² Memoris of Owen Glendwr by the Rev. Thomas Thomas (p. 48), who gives as his authority the following extract from the MS. of the late Rev. Mr. Pugh, of Ty-gwyn, Denbighshire;—"Trefgarn, a place in Pembrokeshire, South Wales; (formerly a gentleman's residence, but now converted into a farm house) . . . being the place where Owain Glyndwr was born, and the house of Thomas ap Llywelyn ap Owain." From what has been written in these pages it would seem that Thomas ap Llewelyn was dead in 1359; and Trefgarn was probably at this time in the possession of his son Owen ap Thomas. ³ Mr. J. Morris' MS. Other writers have given the date of his birth as May 28, 1349, or 1354; but the date which I have adopted from Mr. Morris' MS. agrees with his own deposition in 1386. ⁴ Hist. Shrewsbury by Owen and Blakeway, Vol. I, p. 179. ⁵ De controversia in curia militari inter Ricardum le Scrope et

It was the custom of those days for the gentry to be enrolled as Burgesses of the neighbouring Borough towns, and generally as members of some particular guild. It is therefore quite possible that "Griffin de Glyndorde, taylor," who was admitted a Burgess of Salop in 21 Richard II (1397-8), might have been identical with the popular Welsh hero of the following reign.

Owen de Glyndyfrdwy, Glendore, or Glendower was a man of acute mind, ardent courage, and a cultivated understanding. Moreover he received the best education of the age in what Fortescue calls the University of London, where he was afterwards called to the bar;¹ a distinction at that time conferred only upon young men of good family. Most of our writers, as Hall, Gough, Pennant, Burton, Carte, and others who have followed them, have represented Glendower as esquire to King Richard II, and have ascribed his hatred of the usurper to his attachment to his late Sovereign and master.² But Messrs. Owen and Blakeway, the historians of Shrewsbury,³ shew that it was into the family of the Duke of Hereford (afterwards King Henry IV) that he was received as an Esquire, and there is no authority given for his ever having been in the service of King Richard II. He probably continued in the retinue of the Duke of Hereford until his dispute with Lord Grey de Ruthyn induced him to retire from court to his estates in North Wales in order to maintain his rights against his powerful neighbour. Their contention had reference to certain

Robertum Grosvenor milites : Rege Ricardo secundo, mcccclxxxv—mcccxc : e recordis in Turre Londinensi asservatis. Printed by Samuel Bently, Dorset Street, Fleet Street, London.

¹ *Apprenticius legis fuit apud Westmonasterium* (Walsingham, 364). Fortescue speaks in exalted terms of the high birth of the barristers of his day. No student, he says, in the greater Inns can well be maintained under eighty crowns a year; and if he have a servant to wait on him, as for the most part they have, the expence is proportionably more. For this reason the students are sons to persons of quality so that there is scarcely to be found throughout the Kingdom, an eminent lawyer who is not a gentleman by birth and fortune; consequently they have a greater regard for their character and honour than those who are bred in any other way (*De laudibus legis Angliæ*, chap. xlix). Taking the crown at 7s. 2d. and the bushel of wheat at 6d., the expence of a young student at that time would be little short of £600 a year of modern currency; which might well make Fortescue say that persons of an inferior rank were not able to bear the expences of maintaining and educating their children to this profession (*Hist. Shrewsbury* by Owen and Blakeway, Vol. I, p. 180).

² Mr. Jones, the historian of Brecknockshire (Vol. I, p. 161), quotes Walsingham in proof of his assertion, but the words of that historian, as pointed out by the historians of Shrewsbury, are in direct contradiction to this theory: "*Scutifer regis moderni*," must surely mean "*esquire of the now King*," and Walsingham is writing the history of Henry IV. ³ *Hist. Shrewsbury* Vol. I, p. 180.

rights of common, with respect to which Glendower considered himself to have been treated with injustice by the English courts; and his quarrel with De Grey gradually involved him in a rebellion against the crown. His predatory incursions on the English borders commenced in the year 1399, about the time that Henry ascended the throne. The first act of open hostility is generally said to have been the sack of Ruthin on the 20th of September, 1400;¹ but on the day preceding, Henry had issued an order from Northampton to the Bailiffs of Shrewsbury, in which, after stating that he had heard that certain Welshmen had risen in rebellion, he commands them to take security from all the persons of that nation resident in their town, to be good subjects; otherwise to arrest and throw them into prison: and there are not wanting other circumstances to make it probable that the countrymen of Glendower at least, if not himself, were in arms at no great distance from Shrewsbury before the date usually assigned for the first demonstration of hostility.²

On the 8th of November, 1400, the manors and lordships of Glendourdy in Edernyon, Sawarth in Kentlith, in North Wales, and the manors and lordships of Hiscote and Guynyoneth, in South Wales, were granted by King Henry IV to his brother John, Earl of Somerset, by the names of all the manors, lands, and tenements, which were of Owyn de Glyndordy as well in South Wales as in North Wales, and which were forfeited to the King by the high treason of the said Owyn, to have and to hold all the said manors, lands, and tenements, together with all *Regalies*, *Regalites*, Knights' fees, Advowsons and Patronages of Churches, Franchises, Liberties, Customs, Wards, Marriages, Reliefs, Escheats, Forfeitures, Chaces, Parks, Warrens, Wrecks at Sea, and all other profits and advantages to the said manors belonging, as freely as the said Owyn had held them.³

By this grant, though inoperative during the period of Owen's ascendancy, the chief remnant of the ancient possessions of the Princes of South Wales eventually passed away from their descendants; for the share of inheritance which fell to the other coheir of Thomas ap

¹ Cambro-Briton Vol. I, p. 462. ² Hist. Shrewsbury Vol. I, p. 180. ³ Rot. Parl. Vol. IV, p. 440.

Llewelyn ap Owen consisted mainly of the Lordship of Trefgarn, a recent acquisition, in addition to which it comprised only a few vestra and unimportant manorial rights belonging to the ancient dominion of the Princes.

The English Parliament which met in January 1401, passed a series of the most oppressive and cruel ordinances ever enacted against any people; prohibiting the Welsh from purchasing lands, from holding any corporate office, and from bearing arms within any city, borough, or market town; ordering that in lawsuits between an Englishman and a Welshman the former should be convicted only by the judgment of English Justices or the verdict of all the English burgesses, or by inquests of English boroughs and towns of the lordships in which the respective suits lay; disfranchising all English burgesses who were married to Welshwomen; and forbidding Welshmen to assemble together for conference without licence from the local authorities and in their presence. No provisions or arms were to be received into Wales without special permission from the King or his council. No Welshman was allowed to have the charge of any castle, fortress, or place of defence, even though he might be its owner, nor to execute the offices of Lieutenant, Justice, Chancellor, Treasurer, Chamberlain, Sheriff, Steward, Coroner, or any other office of trust, any patent or licence to the contrary notwithstanding. Moreover the Welshmen were forbidden to bring up their children as scholars, or to apprentice them to any occupation within any town or borough of the realm.¹ These vindictive enactments remained in force until the 21st year of King James I. They are a disgrace to the English legislature; and their effect at the time would seem to have been rather to strengthen the hands of Owen than otherwise.

A glowing description of Glendower's mansion (probably written about this time), is given by Iolo Goch, a celebrated poet of his time who seems to have frequently enjoyed the chieftain's hospitality. The poet compares it in point of magnificence to Westminster Abbey; and informs us that it had a gate-house, and was

¹ History of Wales, by Jane Williams; a work full of information on the subject of these memoirs which has only recently fallen into the hands of the author, and an earlier acquaintance with which would have spared him much time and labour.

surrounded with a moat, that within were nine halls, each furnished with a wardrobe; filled, I imagine (says Pennant from whom I quote) with the clothes of his retainers, according to the custom of those days. Near the house on a verdant bank, was a wooden house, supported on posts, and covered with tiles. It contained four apartments, each subdivided into two, designed to lodge the guests. Here was a church in the form of a cross, with several chapels. The seat was surrounded with every conveniency for good living; and every support to hospitality: a park, a warren, and pigeon-house; a mill, orchard, and vineyard; and fish-pond, filled with pike and gwyniads;—the last introduced from the lake at Bala. A heronry, which was a concomitant to the seat of every great man, supplied him and his guests with game for the sport of falconry The bard speaks feelingly of the wine, the ale, the braget, and the white bread; nor does he forget the kitchen, nor that important officer the cook; whose life (when in the royal service) was estimated by the Welsh laws at 126 cows. Such was the hospitality of Owen that the place of porter was useless; nor were locks or bolts known. To sum up all, no one could be hungry or dry at Sycharth, the name of the place.¹ The bard pays all due praise to the Lady of the house, and her offspring:—

His wife, the best of wives!
 Happy am I in her wine and metheglin.
 Eminent woman of a Knightly family.
 Honorable, beneficent, noble.
 His children come in pairs;
 A beautiful nest of chieftains.

The lady whom he thus celebrates was Margaret daughter of Sir David Hanmer, of Hanmer, in the county of Flint, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, by appointment of Richard II, in 1383, and Knighted by him in 1387.²

¹ Mr. Pennant supposes this castle or mansion of Owen Glendower to have been in Glyndyfrdwy. He had doubtless a capital mansion in each of his manors, and there are traces of one in the valley of the Dee in Glyndyfrdwy, but the mansion of Sycharth (as shewn by the writer of an able article in the *Cambro-Briton*, Vol. I, pp. 145 & seq.), was in the parish of Llansilin and Lordship of Cynllaeth. There are no remains of a house at either place, and as the houses of that date were commonly built of wood no such remains could be reasonably looked for; but there is a place still called *Parc Sycharth*, with a farm attached to it; which doubtless marks the site of the Chieftain's ancient residence. ² Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, Appendix vii.

In 1402 the Welsh insurrection had reached its greatest force. At the approach of spring the operations of Glendower had become more extensive. A fortunate accident made his great enemy and most active opponent, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, his prisoner, and there remained but a few ill-garrisoned castles to hinder his crossing the border. Early in the year the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Henry V) had been sent to Shrewsbury, where he was organizing an army to hold North Wales in check. A letter which he wrote (in Norman French) to the privy council on the 15th of May, and of which the following is a translation, gives a curious picture of the kind of warfare carried on between the rival parties.

“Very dear and entirely well beloved, we greet you earnestly with our entire heart, thanking you very dearly for the good care which you have had of the businesses which concern us in our absence, and we pray you very affectionately for your good and friendly continuance, as our trust is in you. And for news in this part, if you will know, among others we were lately informed that Oweyn de Glyndourdy assembled his forces of other rebels, his adherents, in great number, purposing to make an incursion, and to fight if the English would resist him in his purpose, and so he boasted to his people. Wherefore we took our forces and went to a place of the said Oweyn well built, which was his principal mansion called Saghern (Sycharth), where we expected to have found him, if he had had will to fight in manner as he said; and at our coming thither we found nobody, and therefore we caused the whole place to be burnt, and several other houses thereabouts of his tenants. And then we went straight to his other place of Glendourdy, to seek him there, and there we burnt a fair lodge in his park, and all the country thereabout. And we lodged ourselves by there all that night, and certain of our people sallied forth there into the country, and took a great gentleman of the country who was one of the said Oweyn’s chieftains, who offered five hundred pounds for his ransom to have had his life, and to have paid the said sum within two weeks; nevertheless it was not accepted, but he was put to death, as well as divers others of his companions who were taken in the expedition. And then we went into the commote of Edeyrnion, in the county of Merionyth, and there we ravaged with fire a fair country and well inhabited. And thence we went into Powys, and there being a scarcity of provender for horses in Wales, we caused our men to carry oats with them, and we remained . . . days. And to inform you more fully of this expedition, and of all other news here at present, we send to you our very dear esquire, John de Waterton, to whom you will be pleased to give entire faith and credence in what he shall report to you from us touching the news above mentioned. And may our Lord have you always in His holy keeping. Given under our signet, at Shrouesbury, this 15th day of May.”

Soon after the return of the Prince from this foray Owen Glendower, whose strength was evidently increasing,

approached the English border, with the intention of ravaging Herefordshire and Shropshire. Edmund de Mortimer, the uncle of the young Earl of March, hastily levied the men of Herefordshire, and met the Welsh on the hills in the neighbourhood of Radnor, at Maelienydd. In this battle which was fought on the 12th of June, the men of Herefordshire were entirely defeated, and Mortimer himself taken prisoner.¹

On September 20, 1402, Owen convoked a parliament at Machynlleth in Montgomeryshire, where he was proclaimed Prince of Wales and formally crowned in the presence of the assembled chieftains.

From the time of his coronation he used his Royal Seals, which are thus described by Sir Henry Ellis from the seals attached to two deeds deposited in the Hotel Soubise, at Paris;—"The Great Seal has an obverse and reverse; on the obverse, Owen is represented with a bifid beard, very similar to Richard II, seated under a canopy of gothic tracery; the half body of a wolf forming the arms of his chair on each side; the back-ground is ornamented with a mantle semée of lions held up by angels. At his feet are two lions. A sceptre is in his right hand, but he has no crown. The inscription is *Owenus . . . Princeps Wallie*. On the reverse Owen is represented on horseback, in armour; in his right hand, which is extended, he holds a sword, and in his left a shield, charged with, quarterly, four lions rampant; a drapery, probably a *kerchief de plesaunce*, or handkerchief won at a tournament, pendant from his right wrist. Lions rampant also appear upon the mantle of the horse. On his helmet, as well as on his horse's head, is the Welsh Dragon. The area of the seal is diapered with roses. The inscription on this side seems to fill the gap upon the obverse, *Owenus Dei gratiâ . . . Wallie*."² Pennant mentions a pardon granted by him to one John ap Howel ap Jevan Goch, to which this seal was attached, and which is dated "*anno principatus nostri VI^o datum apud Cefn Llanfair X^o die Jan. per ipsum principem*."

¹ Wright's History of Ludlow, pp. 247, 248. ² Archæologia, Vol. XXV, pp. 616 & seq. It is probable that Owen assumed the armorial bearings of 4 lions rampant on his seal as claiming to represent the Princes of North Wales. His paternal coat as borne by his family was "Paly of eight, argent and gules, over all a lion rampant sable."

Amongst the witnesses are two of his sons, Gryffydd ap Owen and Meredydd ap Owen, his Chancellor Gryffydd Yonge, and (his cousin ?) Rhys ap Tudur, and Gwillim ap¹ "The privy Seal" says Sir Henry Ellis "represents the four lions rampant towards the spectator's left, on a shield, surmounted by an open coronet: the Dragon of Wales, as a supporter, on the dexter side: on the sinister a lion. The inscription seems to have been *Sigillum Oweni Principis Wallie*. No impression of this seal is probably now to be found either in Wales or England."² Its workmanship shows that in Glendower's time heraldic taste and artistic execution were far in advance of anything typified by the seals of his predecessors.

The subsequent career of this eminent Welsh hero is matter of general history, and therefore beyond the scope of the present work.

It is said that he asserted an hereditary right to the Principality of Wales as being the representative of its ancient Princes; to which pretension much exception has been taken. He was, we explain, in all probability, the direct representative of the Princes of Lower Powis;—he was unquestionably, through his mother Elen verch Thomas ap Llewelyn, the senior coheir to the chief line of Princes of South Wales;—and it is perfectly credible that he and his cousin John, Lord of Mawddwy, may have shared with Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, the right of heirship to the throne of North Wales,—not (as is usually assigned to them) through any descent from Catherine,³ an imaginary daughter of Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith,—but as being the descendants of Angharad, wife of Maelgon Vychan ap Maelgon ap Res; which Angharad and her sister Gladys, wife of Ralph de Mortimer, were the daughters of Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, Prince of North Wales, by his wife Joane, natural daughter of King John, and sisters of David ap Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales.⁴

¹ Memoirs of Owen Glendower by Thomas Ellis, Rector of Dolgelle, p. 72; Pennant's Tours in Wales, Vol. III, p. 377. ² Archæologia, Vol. XXV, pp. 616 & seq. ³ This lady, although she appears in numerous Pedigrees, and even in Historical works of some weight, as wife to Philip ap Ivor, and mother of his daughter Eleanor wife of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, had really no existence except in the brain of the Welsh Genealogists. ⁴ The descendants of these two ladies are by no means unlikely to have become the right heirs of the Princes of this line; for (1) Griffith

It is always remarkable how loyally the Welshmen were wont to cling to their hereditary Princes in times of trouble. For instance, after the conquest of Wales by King Edward I and the capture of most of their native Princes the men of Cardigan or West Wales seem to have spontaneously rallied round the standard of Canan ap Meredith ap Owen and Maelgon Vychan, the two available representatives of their ancient Princes; for Llewelyn ap Owen the head of the family was then a minor under the King's guardianship. The men of Glamorgan, in like manner, at once acknowledged their disinherited Seigneur, Morgan ap Meredith, as their head; and in North Wales, as we have seen, Madoc the natural son of Llewelyn was the captain chosen of the people,—illegitimate sons in Wales being generally recognised as capable of inheriting, at least where there was a failure of legitimate heirs. In 1322 again, if we believe Sir Griffith Lloyd to have married a daughter of Canan ap Meredith ap Owen, we have another instance of the Welshmen following one who had a certain claim to their allegiance as representing (*jure uxoris*) one line of their native Princes. We may therefore well believe that the hereditary claims of Owen Glendower were weighed by his countrymen before they acknowledged him as their lawful Prince.

With respect to the descent of Owen Glendower and his cousin John de la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy, from the daughter of Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, it has been stated that one of the said Llewelyn's legitimate daughters

ap Llewelyn, the elder brother of Prince David and father of the last Princes Llewelyn and David, is generally believed to have been an illegitimate son of Prince Llewelyn ap Jerwerth, though his children were, for lack of legitimate male heirs, acknowledged as Princes of North Wales on the death of their uncle David ap Llewelyn ap Jerwerth without issue; but (2) even supposing Griffith ap Llewelyn to have been legitimate I am not aware that there were any descendants of his remaining in the time of Owen Glendower. We know that the only legitimate child of Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith, namely Gwenllïan, his daughter by his wife Eleanor de Montfort, was brought to England as a little child and forced to take the veil in the convent of Sempringham, where she died a nun in 1337; and her cousin-german Gladys, whom I take to have been the only surviving child of David ap Griffith, the last native Prince of North Wales, was also placed at that time in the same convent, where she died a nun in 1336. There were probably no descendants of Owen the elder son of Griffith ap Llewelyn and brother of the last Princes Llewelyn and David; and the descendants of their sister Gladys daughter of Griffith ap Llewelyn and wife of Res Vychan ap Res ap Mechyll seem to have ended with Res Wendot and his brothers; so that when the Welsh rose against the English in 1294 to resist the payment of the war tax, the men of North Wales, for want of a more direct heir to the Princely throne, acknowledged Madoc, the illegitimate son of the last Llewelyn as their leader.

married Maelgon Vychan (I), Lord of Cardigan Uch-Ayron, son of Maelgon ap Res, the issue of whose only son Res ap Maelgon will have probably ended with his grandchildren Maelgon Vychan and his brothers, when the representation of the family will have vested in the descendants of the three daughters of Maelgon Vychan (I) and his wife Angharad verch Llewelyn ap Jerwerth. Of these daughters, Gwenthlia, wife of Meredith ap Llewelyn, Lord of Merioneth, had an only son Llewelyn ap Meredith, Lord of Merioneth, who was living, and in the King's pay on account of his loss of lands, in 1260, having then a wife and children.¹ He was slain in battle in 1263; and I know not whether his issue survived. Margaret, another daughter, married Owen ap Meredith, Lord of Cedewen, one of whose *daughters*, namely Angharad, married her cousin Owen ap Meredith ap Owen, grandfather of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, the grandfather of Owen Glendower; but the representation of Margaret, Lady of Cedewen, will have been with the descendants (if any) of her *sons* rather than with Glendower and Mawddwy. Elena, a third daughter of Maelgon Vychan (I) is said to have married Meredith ap Owen ap Griffith ap Res, Lord of Cardigan Is-Ayron, the great-grandfather of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, of whom Owen Glendower was the senior coheir; so that it is by no means improbable that he may thus have made out his claim to the Princely throne.

The rebellion of Owen lasted through the whole reign of King Henry IV. and part of that of his successor. During the latter years of his life he suffered many reverses and must have had many personal hardships to endure. It is said that he had at one time to wander from place to place in want and penury, and that he was forced to shelter himself in caves and desert places in order to escape the vigilance of his enemies. However, he maintained his

¹ On August 8, 1259, the Sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire is ordered to pay to Lewellyn son of Meredue, who had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the King, the sum of 40 marks which the King granted to him, to be received annually for the support of himself and his wife and children (Liberate Roll 43 Hen. III, m. 3). And on May 30, 1260, the King's mandate is issued to the then Sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire, in which it is stated that the former Sheriff, William Bagod had received the above mentioned order, but that the said Lewellyn had only received 10 marks from the said William Bagod; and the present Sheriff is therefore ordered to pay Lewellyn the remaining 30 marks out of the issues of his bailiwick (Lib. R. 44 Hen. III, m. 7). See page 130 note.

independence to the last ; and on July 5, 1415, after the accession of Henry V, the King, being then at Porchester castle, deputed Sir Gilbert Talbot to negotiate with him, even to the extent of promising pardon to him and his adherents, provided they would request it of the King. It is probable that the death of Owen prevented the completion of the treaty. This gracious offer was renewed, on February 24 of the following year, to his son Meredith ap Owen, by whom it was accepted ; but in the meantime Owen himself, yet unsubmitive and unsubdued, died on September 21, 1415, at Monington in Herefordshire, the residence of his youngest daughter Margaret, or as some say at Kentchurch, the seat of his daughter Alice Scudamore.

By his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir David Hanmer, he is said to have had five sons and four daughters.¹ The sons, according to Vincent's Collections in the College of Arms, were Griffith, Madoc, Meredith, Thomas, and John, who are said, by his Biographer, Mr. Thomas Ellis, Rector of Dolgelle, to have all perished in their father's wars, without leaving issue. It is certain, however, that one, at least, of his sons survived him, though it is probable that they all died without issue. The daughters were Isabel, wife of Adam ap Jorwerth Dhu ; Alice, wife of Sir John Scudamore of Kentchurch, in the county of Hereford ; Janet, wife of Sir John Croft, of Croft Castle, in the county of Hereford ; and Margaret, wife of Roger Monington, of Monington in the same county ; with whose descendants the representation of Owen Glendower and the senior coheirship of the Princes of South Wales is presumed to rest. Two other daughters have also been assigned to him by different writers, namely Jane, who is said to have married Lord Grey de Ruthyn, while he was a prisoner in her father's hands, and another who is said to have married Sir Edmund Mortimer under somewhat similar circumstances ;² but as to the existence of these two there is some doubt.

¹ Mr. Ellis, in his Memoirs of Owen Glendower, mentions the following illegitimate children of Owen, namely Jevan ; a daughter married to the heir of Gwerneu ; Myfanwy, wife of Llewelyn ap Adda of Trevor ; and Gwenllian, wife of Sir Philip ap Res of St. Harmon in Radnorshire. ² On June 27, 1 Hen. V (1413) £30 were paid to John Weale "for the expenses of the wife of Owen Glyndwr, of the wife of Edmund Mortimer and of others their sons and daughters in his custody in the city of London, at the King's charge" (History of Ludlow, pp. 265, 266, by Thomas Wright Esq., F.S.A., who quotes from Devon's Pell. Rolls, p. 321).

In the year 1433 Sir John Skydemore, Knight, and Alice his wife, as daughter and heir of Owyn de Glyndorde, had claimed the manors of Glendourdy and Kentlyth, as those which Walter Mitton and Walter Huse had given to Griffyth Glyndouerde great-grandfather of the said Alice and to Elizabeth his wife and the heirs of their bodies, and they sought to enforce their claim in the King's court in the county of Merioneth by writ directed to the Sheriff; whereupon John, Earl of Somerset, then a prisoner in France, presented his petition to the King in Parliament, praying that the matter might be considered and that an Act might be passed to restrain the said John and Alice, or their heirs, or any of the heirs of the said Owyn, from bringing any action for recovery of any of the said Hereditaments, otherwise than by their petition in the King's Bench. Such an act was accordingly passed; and it was further enacted that the statute made in the 4th of Henry IV,—to the effect that no Englishman who should marry with any of the family of Owen de Glyndourdy should hold any office in Wales or the Marches,—should be confirmed, and that all letters patent or grants to the contrary which had been made to any one should be null and void.¹

Tudor ap Griffith Vychan, the younger brother of Owen Glendower, inherited the manor of Gwyddelwern in Edeirnyon as his portion. He was upwards of 24 years of age, on September 3, 1386, when under the designation of "Tuder de Glyndore" he appeared as a witness in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy. He fell fighting in his brother's cause on March 11, 1405, at Mynydd-y-Pwll-Melyn, near Grosmont in Monmouthshire. After the action he was found among the slain, and from his resemblance to his brother, a report was spread of the death of Owen; but on examining his body it was found to want a wart over the eye, which distinguished Owen from Tudor.²

Tudor ap Griffith married Maud, daughter and heir of Jevan ap Howel ap Adda ap Awr of Trevor, and left issue a daughter and heiress Lowry, Lady of

¹ Rot. Parl. 11 & 12 Henry VI (Vol. IV, p. 440). ² Burke (Dictionary of the Landed Gentry, under Hughes of Gwerdas), who quotes from Carte's History of England, Vol. II, p. 665.

Gwyddelwern, wife of Griffith ap Einion of Cors-y-gedol in Merionethshire who was living in 1400 and 1415, and by whom she had two sons, (1) Griffith Vaughan, Esq., of Cors-y-gedol, now represented through females, by Edward, Lord Mostyn; and (2) Ellis ap Griffith, of Gwyddelwern, represented, through females, by Richard Walmsley Lloyd, Esq., of Plymog, in the county of Denbigh.

Margaret (or Elianor), the younger daughter and eventual coheiress of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, married for her first husband William ap Griffith de la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy in Powysland,¹ by whom she had a son John, Lord of Mawddwy, who succeeded to the Lordship of Trefgarn and the rest of his mother's possessions. She married secondly Sir Tudor ap Grono,² Knight, of Penmynydd, in the county of Anglesey,

¹ & ² Ellis' account of Owen Glendower, p. 75; Hengwrt MS. No. 96. Sir Tudor ap Grono, the 2nd husband of the Lady of Trefgarn and Mawddwy, was the son of Grono ap Tudor ap Grono ap Ednyved Vychan (Burke's Dic. Lan. Gen., under Lloyd of Plymog; Arch. Cam. 3rd series, Vol. V, p. 144). Sir Tudor ap Grono and his brothers appear to have been tenants in capite of lands in Cardiganshire by inheritance from their father. In 6 Edw. III the King's letters to Gilbert Talbot, his Justice of South Wales, declare that,—whereas Gronou ap Tudor deceased had held a third part of a westva with the appurtenances at Kethlan in the King's commot of Mabwynneon and a third part of a westva at Redonnen in the King's commot of Perveth, and Lethychlenan in the commot of Creudyn by the Welsh law and by the service of doing suit at the King's court of Cardigan from month to month,—the King had received the fealty of Howel ap Gronou ap Tudur, Tudur ap Gronou, and Gruffuth ap Gronou ap Tudur (Abb. Rot. Orig. Ro. 32). And on the Monday next after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 20, 1344) Howel ap Gronou Tudor and Tudor his brother were summoned before the court of the Prince at Cardigan to shew by what right they claimed to hold a free court in the vill of Lethwechleynan in the commot of Gruthyn, and similar liberties in the vill of Kellan in the commot of Mabwynnyon and in the vill of Redonnen in the commot of Perveth (Plac. de quo warranto, p. 818). Sir Tudor ap Grono is said to have lived chiefly at Tre Castell, in Anglesey. Here too he died; and, according to the same authority, he was buried in the Friary of Bangor (his grandfather's foundation) on September 19, 1367 (Arch. Camb. 3rd series, Vol. V, p. 144). According to the Heraldic Pedigrees he was twice married, first to Mallt, daughter of Madoc ap Jorwerth ap Madoc ap Ririd Flaidd, of Penllyn, by whom he had an elder son Grono Vychan and others; and secondly to Margaret, Lady of Mawddwy, daughter and heiress of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen Lord of Iscoed, by whom he had a son Meredith (Hengwrt MS. 96). He was succeeded in the estate of Penmynydd by his eldest son Grono, who died on March 23, 1332, leaving his son and heir Tudor then under age (Arch. Camb. 3rd series, Vol. XV, p. 291). Rhys ap Tudor and William ap Tudor, two of Sir Tudor's sons, were in the service of King Richard II as Captains of Archers, as appears by the issues of pay made to them out of the exchequer. In 1399 that King granted to William ap Tudore "*de wallia armigero quem penes se retinuit*" £10 *per ann.* for life, and a similar grant was made to Rhys (Arch. Camb. 3rd series, Vol. XV, p. 380). According to the Pedigree above quoted (Hengwrt MS. 96, which is not very clear), William and Rhys ap Tudor were the sons of Sir Tudor by his first wife. In the subsequent reign they sided with Owen Glendower in his wars, in which they took an active part, and, together with Owen, were specially excluded from the pardon offered to their fellow-countrymen by King Henry IV in May and June 1401 (Pennant's Tours, Vol. III, p. 329; Thomas's Memoirs of Owen Glendwr, p. 72).

who died in 1367, by whom she had a son Meredith, from whom the Tudor line of Kings derived their descent.

Meredith ap Tudor, being but a younger son of Sir Tudor ap Grono, is believed to have held some office about the person of the Bishop of Bangor. Pennant styles him "*Scutifer*" others say that he was Steward or Butler. Meredith married Margaret, daughter of David Vychan ap David Llwyd, of Anglesey, by whom he had a son Owen, born during his absence from home about the commencement of the fifteenth century. Some writers affirm that Meredith's absence from home at that time was necessitated by his having taken part in the murder of William de Sutton, Justiciary of North Wales. Before 1392 he had held the important office of Escheator of the county of Anglesey. His son Owen ap Meredith seems to have had an early introduction to the court of King Henry V, and when there, to have gained both friends and fortune by his manliness and grace. "According to the chroniclers, Owen danced himself, like Sir Christopher Hatton, into high places. The story runs that, in dancing he stumbled, and fell upon the lap of Queen Catherine, wife of Henry V of England, daughter of Charles VI of France, and so well improved the occasion that after the death of Henry V she took him for her second husband.¹ There can be no reasonable doubt about the marriage, though it has been questioned by Miss Strickland in her memoirs. Leland, in mentioning Owen's death, says "he had many dayes to fore married secretly Queen Catherine." Holinshed in speaking of the marriage describes Owen as "a galant gentleman and a right beautiful person, indued with many goodlie gifts both of bodie and mind."² The Queen Dowager procured for her husband, says Stowe, "one hundred markes a yeare to live upon, and after that he had much more good land." Their eldest son Edmund was born at the Royal manor of Hadham; the second, Jasper, at that of Hatfield; and the third at Westminster; so that there could not have been much success in any

¹ & ² Arch. Camb. 3rd series, Vol. XV, pp. 379 & seq. To the writer of this able Memoir of Penmynydd and the Tudors, whose words I have quoted and to whom I am indebted for almost all my information about Meredith ap Tudor and his son Sir Owen Tudor, I would refer my readers for a fuller account of the various branches of the Tudor Family.

attempt to conceal the marriage. The Queen, being subjected to some complaint or surveillance, not perhaps quite amounting to imprisonment, but at the same time causing her and her husband much uneasiness, removed to the Abbey of Bermondsey, where eventually she died on January 3, 1437. After her death Owen Tudor was arrested in the same year and by the King's council subjected to imprisonment—contrary to the King's promise,—first at Newgate and afterwards at Wallingford. He remained in confinement, with but short intermission, till the year 1440, when he was set at liberty by the King, his stepson, who granted him by patent an annuity of one hundred pounds and divers other gifts for term of life. Two years later, there was paid from the exchequer "to Owyn ap Tudor, in money paid to his own hands in discharge of forty pounds which the present Lord the King of his especial grace granted to the same Owyn, to be had by way of reward,—40 *li*." The King was then about one and twenty years of age and Owen Tudor about forty-two. In another document Henry declares that "out of consideration of the good services of that beloved squire our Owinus Tudyr, we for the future take him into our special grace and make him Park-keeper of our parks of Denbigh, Wales."¹ Owen to the end of his life remained faithful to King Henry VI. He served the House of Lancaster in the wars of the Roses until he was taken prisoner at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore, on February 2, 1461, where he and his, under the command of his son Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, were endeavouring to resist the progress of the Yorkists under Edward, Earl of March. From thence he was taken by Sir Richard Vaughan to Hereford, and, having been beheaded at the Market Cross, was buried in the church of the Grey Friars there.²

By his wife Catherine, Queen Dowager of England, he had, with a daughter Tacina, married to Reginald, Lord Grey of Wilton, three sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen who became a monk at Westminster and died early.³ Jasper Tudor, the 2nd son, was, by his

¹ & ² Arch. Camb. 3rd series, Vol. XV, pp. 379 & seq. ³ History of Wales, by Jane Williams, p. 460.

half-brother King Henry VI, created Earl of Pembroke, in the Parliament held at Reading in 1452, at the same time that his brother Edmund was made Earl of Richmond. The Earl of Pembroke took an active part in the wars of the Roses, on the Lancastrian side; and after the accession of his nephew King Henry VII was advanced to the Dukedom of Bedford on October 27, 1485. He was afterwards made Justice of South Wales, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for two years, and invested with the order of the garter. He married Catherine, 6th and youngest daughter of Richard Wydeville, Earl Rivers, and widow of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, but died without issue in 1405.¹ Edmund Tudor, the eldest son of Sir Owen Tudor, was, on November 3, 1452, created Earl of Richmond, with precedence of all other Earls; and in the same year he had a grant in fee from the King of the mansion-house of Baynard's Castle, in the city of London. He married the Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter and heiress of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and, dying in 1456, his remains were interred in the Cathedral Church of St. David's with the following epitaph: "under this marble stone here inclosed resteth the bones of the Noble Lord Edmund, Earl of Richmond, father and brother to Kings; the which departed out of this world in the year of our Lord, 1456, the 3rd of the month of November; on whose soul Almighty Jesus have mercy, Amen."² His only child Henry, who was but fifteen weeks old at the time of his father's death, was crowned King of England on the battle of Bosworth field on August 22, 1485, by the name of Henry VII. He died on April 21, 1509, having married Elizabeth eldest daughter and eventual coheir of King Edward IV, from the issue of which marriage descended the subsequent Kings and Queens of England.

William, Lord of Mawddwy, the first husband of the Lady of Trefgarn, was the son of Griffith de la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy in Powysland and Great Sardon in Staffordshire, the son of William de la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy,³ fourth son of Griffith ap Wenwynwyn,

¹ & ² Burke's extinct Peerage. ³ By a deed of settlement preserved in the Welsh rolls of 1277-8, Griffin son of Wennonwen, Lord of Powys, assigns to his son William the whole land of Mauto (Mawddwy) with all its rights, liberties, and all other appurtenances, excepting the vill of Landeboe (near Mallwyd) which the said Griffin had given

Prince of Upper Powys. On the Sunday next before the Feast of St. Gregory the Pope (March 10) 1353, as

to his wife the Lady Hawys in dower and which should revert to the said William or his heirs after her death, to be held by the said William and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten *in capite* by military service, of Owen the eldest son of the said Griffin and his heirs for ever (Rot. Wall. 6-9 Edw. I, m. 11 d. de a^o 60). By deed dated at Westminster on May 16, 1290, the above mentioned Owen, son of Griffin, son of Wenunwyn, Lord de la Pole, confirms to his brother William de la Pole all the land of Maudoe in all its best limits, and appurtenances, chaces, woods, roads, and paths, for his homage and service, to have and to hold of the said Owen and his heirs to the said William and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, in fee and inheritance by hereditary right for ever, as fully as his father ever most fully held it, three things excepted, namely military service, common tallage, and aid in the building of castles, which the said William and his tenants are bound to do for him in the same way that his brothers Lewelin and Griffin and their tenants are bound to do, for all services, exactions and demands (Rot. Wall. 14-23 Edw. I, m. 7 d. de a^o 180). The Lordship of Maudoe, Mouthey, or Mawddwy, which was thus made over to William ap Griffith de la Pole, included the Parish of Mawddwy and seven out of the eight townships comprised in the neighbouring Parish of Mallwyd. In 28 Edw. I (1299-1300), at the perambulation of the King's Forests of Cannock and Kinver, the manor of Sardon Magna, in the county of Stafford, was found to be held by William de la Pole and Gladowsa his wife (Huntbache MS. Vol. II). William de la Pole was dead in 33 Edw. I (1305), when the Lady Hawys complained to Edward Prince of Wales and his council at Kenyngton that the said Prince's officers had lately seized into the hands of the Prince the vill of Landeboe in Monchei (Mawddwy) which is part of her dower and which she had given to her son William de la Pole to hold during her pleasure, so that the said William held it at the time of his death. The answer was that the usual writ of "*diem clausit extremum*" would be issued and the Justice would certify the truth to the Prince. At the same time Wladuse, the widow of William de la Pole petitions to have her reasonable dower in the free tenement which had belonged to the said William her husband in Powis; as also to have the custody of his lands and tenements during the minority of his heir, and the marriage of the said heir. The answer was that her reasonable dower and the custody of the lands would be granted to her, but as to the marriage of the heir the Prince wishes to take counsel thereon. The Justice is ordered to cause the said heir to be conducted to the Prince, and the Lord Hugh d'Audelee pledges himself to bring him before the Justice at the will of the said Justice, and promises that the said heir shall not be married in the mean while (Record of Caernarvon, p. 218. The petitions here recorded are erroneously attributed by the Editor in the Introduction at p. IV to the 33 of Edw. III). In the *Nomina Villarum*, of 9 Edw. II (1316) Wladonsa de la Pole is named Lady of Sardon Magna in the county of Stafford; and in 13 Edw. II, Wladis, Gladis, or Gladusa de la Pole, was certified, pursuant to writ tested at Clipston on March 5, as holding the township of Great Sardon in the county of Stafford (Parliamentary writs). Her tenure of this estate and the undertaking of Hugh de Audley with respect to the marriage of her son would seem to favour the notion that she was a member of the Audley family,—perhaps a daughter of Henry, and sister of Nicholas, de Audley of Heleigh, and a sister also of that Hugh de Audley whose son of the same name was created Earl of Gloucester in 1337. Griffin, son and heir of William de la Pole proved his age in 1319, having been born at Matheloyt (Mallwyd) and baptized in the church of the said town (Inq. 12 Edw. II, No. 56). In 4 Edw. III (1330) the King committed to Griffin, son of William de la Pole, the office of Sheriff of the county of Merioneth with the appurtenances (Abbrev. Rot. Orig. p. 39), in which office he was succeeded by Richard de Holond in the following year. By this time or soon afterwards he had probably succeeded to his mother's interest at Great Sardon and was doubtless an occasional resident there; for between the years 1331 and 1342 he not unfrequently occurs, by the name of Griffin de la Pole of Sardon, and Griffin Lord of Sardon Magna, as witness to various deeds of his neighbours at Shareshull, Little Sardon, and Stretton. In 18 Edw. III we find Griffin, son of William de la Pole, opposing the claim of John de Cherleton to settle other Welsh estates and Dendor commot (*ex inf. Rev. R. Eyton*). By deed of December 2, 1352, he sold the manor of Great Sardon to John Musard, who sold it three weeks afterwards to Sir William de Shareshull and Dionisia his wife, to whom it was quit claimed and confirmed by William, son of Griffin de la Pole on March 10, 1353 (Huntbache MS. Vol. II).

William son of Griffin de la Pole, he confirmed to Sir William Shareshull, Knight, and Dionisia his wife, the manor of Great Saredon, which had been sold by his father in December of the previous year.¹ The fruit of the marriage between William de la Pole and the Lady of Trefgarn was a son John de la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy, who inherited his mother's lands and manors at Trefgarn, Gwynnionith, and elsewhere.

On the Monday after the close of Easter in the seventh year of Richard II (April 18, 1384), we find John de la Pole (probably the same person) acting as Justice of North Wales.² A few years later we find him already married to a great Shropshire heiress, Elizabeth daughter of Sir Fulk Corbet of Wattlesburgh and Morton Corbet Knight, who proved her age on the Sunday next after the Feast of St. Peter in Cathedra 13 Richard II (February 28, 1390), as Elizabeth, wife of John de Mowthe. The Jurors reported that she was born on May 7, 1375, and baptized in the church of St. Peter at Alberbury. She was fourteen years and a half at the date of the inquest, and the said John Mowthe and Elizabeth had as yet no issue between them.³ By this marriage John de la Pole became possessed of most of the ancient Corbet estates which had hitherto descended to the heirs male of that family. I suppose that he had been married to her some years previous to the Inquest; for as John de Mowthe he was appointed Sheriff of Shropshire on November 18, 1387,⁴ and I suspect that he had no estates in Shropshire besides those which he acquired in right of his wife.

In 1394, as John, Lord of Mowthey, he enfranchises his town of Dynas Mowthoy and endows the burgesses with the usual rights and liberties of a free borough. His charter is dated at Dynas Mowthoy on February 20, 17 Richard II.⁵

Though near of kin to Owen Glendower himself and yet more nearly related to some of his chief supporters the Lord of Mawddwy does not appear to have taken part in their rebellion. His extensive English interests and the fealty which he owed to his Lord, Sir Edward de Cherleton, under whom as Baron of Powys he

¹ Huntbach MS. Vol. II. ² Record of Caernarvon, p. 210. ³ Inq. 13 Ric. II, No. 174. ⁴ Blakeway's Sheriffs of Shropshire. ⁵ Hengwrt MS. No. 119.

held his lands in Merionethshire *in capite*, will have prompted him to remain true to his English allegiance; and he may very possibly have been identical with the "Johan Pole" who gives information against Howel Kethin and other adherents of Owen dwelling in Montgomeryshire and on the Welsh borders of Shropshire.¹ His English sympathies will have rendered him obnoxious to his cousin Owen, who devastated his lands at Mawddwy and in the Marches and drove away his tenants. John de Mawddwy, alias de la Pole, died on November 3, 1403, leaving issue, by his wife Elizabeth Corbet, a son and heir Fulk de Mawddwy and an only daughter Elizabeth, who afterwards became her brother's heir. The Inquest *post mortem* taken at Hereford (i. e. Haverford West) in December, 1405, states that he held on the day of his death the manor of Trevegar (Trefgarn Owen) with the appurtenances within the Marches of Wales in West Wales, which was of the annual value of 20 merks, but of whom the said manor was held or by what service the Jurors were altogether ignorant.² The Shropshire Inquest states that he held, for term of life by the law of England, as of the inheritance of Elizabeth, formerly his wife, the manors of Yokulton, Shelve, and Wentenore, with their appurtenances, together with a fourth part of the Forest of Cawes, in the county of Salop, the reversion whereof belonged to Fulk son of the said John and Elizabeth, as son and heir of Elizabeth. The said manors &c., were held of the King *in capite* by military service, and their annual value was about £30 and not more because they lay on the confines of the county beyond the limits and bounds of the Welsh Marches, and were devastated from day to day and partly burned by the Welsh rebels. He held also the manor of Watelesburgh', with the appurtenances, for term of life as before, of the Earl of Stafford (now under age and in the King's custody) as of his castle of Cawes by military service; which said manor was of the annual value of £10 at the present time and not more because it lay on the confines of the aforesaid county over the limits and bounds of the Welsh Marches and the tenants of the said

¹ Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. IV, pp. 328, 329. ² Inq. 5 Hen. IV, No. 34.

manor had gone away for fear of the malice of the Welsh rebels. He held also the manor of Hemme in the same county, for term of life as before, of the Lord King *in capite*, at an annual rent of 3s. payable to the Sheriff of the county for the time being; which manor was of the annual value of about £2 and not more. He held also the hamlet of Bradeshull with the appurtenances, for term of life as before, of a certain John de Eyton, at an annual rent of 10s., which hamlet was of the annual value of about 20s. and not more. He held also in demesne as of fee the Lordship of Mouthe with the appurtenances, in the Marches of Wales adjacent to the said county, which was held of Edward, Lord Powys, by military service as of his castle of Pole; which said Lordship was as yet of no annual value, because it had been wholly devastated by the aforesaid rebel Welshmen. The said John Mowthe died on Saturday the morrow of All Saints' last past; and Fulk son of the late John and Elizabeth his wife, was heir to both his father and mother. The said Fulk was fourteen years of age and more at the time of his father's death, having been born at Watelesburgh, in the aforesaid county of Salop, on the Monday next after the Feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, 12 Richard II, and baptized in the Parish Church of Alberbury.¹ But from what follows it would seem that the Jury were not rightly informed as to the age of the heir. The writ ordering the inquest at which Fulk had to prove his age was issued on September 26, 1412, and held at Salop on Thursday before All Saints' (October 27) of the same year.² It was there proved that he was born at Wattelesburgh on the Thursday after the Feast of St. Matthew, 14 Richard II (September 22, 1390), and baptized in the church of Alberbury. He was therefore twenty-one years of age and more.

Fulke de Mowethe, who thus proved his age in 1412, died without issue about two years afterwards, leaving a widow Isabella, who was remarried to Richard de Peshale, and an only sister and heiress Elizabeth. Elizabeth de Mowethe (alias de la Pole) married Hugh Burgh, Esq.; and in the third of Henry V the said Hugh Burgh and

¹ Inq. 5 Hen. IV, No. 34. ² Inq. 13 Hen. IV, No. 50 (ex inf. Rev. R. Eyton).

Elizabeth his wife held the manors of Shelve, Yockleton, and Wentnor, of the King *in capite*,¹ and two thirds of all the lands which had been held by Fulke de Mowethe. The other third was held in dower by Isabella the widow of Fulk.

In the same year a final concord was made at the Session of Stephen, Lord Bishop of St. David's, on the Thursday next before the Feast of St. Lawrence 3 Henry V (August 8, 1415), before Thomas Touher, deputy for John Merbury, Seneschal of the lands of the Bishoprick of St. David's, Sir John Wogan, Knight, and other lieges of the said Lord Stephen; between John Biriton, Philip Lloyd, and John Lloyd, clerks, complainants, and Hugh Burgh and Elizabeth his wife, defendants, of lands in Gilbergh. The demandants acknowledged them to be the right of Elizabeth, and for this recognition the said Hugh and Elizabeth granted that the third part thereof, which Richard Peshale and Isabella his wife, late wife of Fulco Moutho, brother of the said Elizabeth, then held as of the dower of the same Isabella, should remain to the demandants.²

In the 6th of Henry VI (1418-19) Hugh Burgh and Elizabeth his wife appointed attorneys to receive seisin of various manors and lands, namely, West Trauger', Lambston apud montem jux: le dale, Dale and Walton in Roos, Gylbergh, Guyon Iskerdyn, Dyhewidd, &c., of the dower of Isabel, late wife of Fulco de Moutho.³

In the 9th of Henry V Richard de Peshale acknowledges to have received from Hugh Burgh 14 merks 6s. 8d. of a rent of 29 merks for the third part of all the lands which were of Fulco de Mouthe, late husband of Isabella now his wife, in the counties of Pembroke and Cardigan, and the Lordship of Har'ford (Haverford West), and Seynt David in South Wales, and the Lordship of North Wales.⁴

¹ Duke's Antiquities of Shropshire. ² Newport Evidences, amongst the Blakeway MSS. at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. ³ Ibid. The lands in South Wales which came to Hugh Burgh by his marriage with the Lady of Mawddwy are described in a MS. of the late Mr. Joseph Morris as,—Trefgarn cum membris (viz. Trefgarn, Gilleugh, Dyffryn-Taf, High Hilton and Symondeston, Snaylton, Le Dale, Le Hill, Bykton, Sutton, Walton, Lamberton, and Herbraundston) in South Wales; Reiner's Castle; and Gwynnyonyth cum membris (viz. Westva [de Gwynnionith?] and Westva Syhewyd) in the county of Cardigan. ⁴ Ibid.

Elizabeth Burgh was living in 1 Henry VI (1422-3),¹ but dead before October 26, 1430, when the inquest was taken after the death of Isabella, the widow of Fulk de Mouthe. The said Isabella died without issue, October 5, 8 Henry VI (1429), and John Burgh, son of the said Elizabeth, was found to be her heir in respect of the lands held by her in dower as above mentioned; which John was sixteen years of age on June 12, 1430. The Jury further reported that Hugh Burgh, Esq., had occupied the said third part of the lands of the said Fulk from the time of the said Isabella's death, by virtue of the King's letters patent, and that he had received the profits thereof.²

Hugh Burgh died within a year of the death of his sister in law, viz. on August 18, 1430. The inquest after his death was held at Salop at the same time as that on the death of Isabella, namely, on October 26, 1430, and before the same Jury. He held for term of life, by the law of England, after the death of Elizabeth late his wife, of the inheritance of John Burgh, son and heir of the same Elizabeth, two parts of the manors of Shelve, Wentenore, Yokelton, and the hamlet of Stretton as a member of Yokelton, and two parts of the fourth part of the Forest of Cawes, in the county of Salop, and two parts of 40s. annual rent and of a rent of 3 dwts. of gold, with the appurtenances in Kynwarton and Strycheley in the same county, which said manors &c., are held of the King *in capite* by military service. But the value of these manors, hamlet, fourth part, and rents, are described as being much depreciated because they had been laid waste in the time of the wars by the rebel Welshmen, and were still for the most part waste on account of the pestilence and the robberies prevailing in the Marches. He held also for term of life, by the law of England as before stated, two parts of the manors of Heye, Haburley, Lughton, Cardeston, and Watlesburgh with the appurtenances, and two parts of the advowson of the church of Haburley and the chapel of Cardeston in the same county, the value of which were also considerably depreciated from the same causes. He held also, for term of life as before, a pasture called Bradeshull, containing

¹ Hengwrt MS. No. 119. ² Inq. 9 Hen. VI, No. 32.

62 acres, two parts of the manor of Hemme and of the hamlet of Hynnyton as a member of Hemme in the same county, two messuages with the appurtenances in Halughton juxta Haghmon, 20s. of annual rent issuing from various lands and tenements in Leighe Subt^s Brokhurst in the same county, as also the moiety of two mills at Brocton in the same county. He held also, for term of life as before, two parts of the Lordship of Mouthe, with the appurtenances in the Marches of Wales, in the land of Powis, adjacent to the said county, which Lordship with the appurtenances, is held of the Lord of Powis, as of his castle of Pole, by the service of an annual rent of 13s. 4d. in the name of aid in castle-building; and the annual value of the said two parts of the said Lordship is 8 merks and not more by reason of their having been wholly destroyed by the rebel Welshmen in the time of the wars. The reversion of all the aforesaid lands and tenements belonged to John Burgh as son and heir of the said Elizabeth. And the said John Burgh was heir of Hugh, as well as of Elizabeth his wife.¹

Hugh Burgh, who married the heiress of John de Mawddwy or Mouthe, is derived in a Pedigree in the Visitation of Shropshire, 1564 (preserved in the Harleian MSS. No. 1241) from the family of Burgh, afterwards Barons Burgh of Gainsborough, descended, as it is said, from Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent. A document preserved amongst the Halston Papers proves him, says Blakeway,² to have been of the county of Westmoreland. It is a pardon to *Hugh Burgh*, of the County of *Westmoreland*, of all rebellions, &c., &c.; and its being preserved amongst the family papers at Halston must evidently lead to the conclusion that this was the Hugh de Burgh in question. It is dated at Westminster Nov. 24 *anno regni mei vij . . . per ipsum Regem et consilium*. Blakeway supposes the King to have been Henry IV.

John Burgh, Lord of Mawddwy, the son and heir of Hugh and Elizabeth, proved his age at Shrewsbury on June 28, 1435. He was twenty-one years of age on June 12 last past, having been born at Wattlesburgh and baptized in the church of the same vill. One of his sponsors was John, Lord Talbot, who gave to him, on his

¹ Inq. 9 Hen. VI, No. 47. ² Blakeway's *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, p. 66.

baptismal day, a cup of silver gilt with a cover; Lawrence Merbury was his other godfather, and the Lady Joan Prayres, was his godmother.¹

This John Burgh was a person of great magnificence, and living at the time when Henry VI exercised a precarious authority over France, he, in common with other eminent Englishmen, entitled himself after a seigniorship in Normandy. His seal is circumscribed S. J. Burgh, Sr. d. olonde ps. le Chastel de Chirbourgh. (The seal of John Burgh Lord of Olonde, near the Castle of Chirbourgh).² His seal appended to a deed relating to the Priory of Alberbury, dated March 21, 1461, has thereon a lion rampant in a border indented, with the legend "S. Johannis Burgh." These were the arms of his mother's family, the Princes of Powis. The arms of Burgh of Mawddwy, as they have always been quartered by his descendants, are azure, a chevron between 3 fleur de lys ermine.³

Sir John Burgh was four times Sheriff of Shropshire, namely in the year 1442, being not then a Knight; in 1449 when he was appointed as Sir John Burgh, Knight; in 1453; and again in 1463-4. In the last instance he held office for two years.⁴ Sir John increased his great estates by marrying Joane, the younger daughter and coheir of Sir William Clopton, of Radbroke, Knight, whereby he acquired the manors of Radbroke and Clopton in the county of Gloucester, and divers other lands and manors in the counties of Warwick and Worcester.⁵

Sir John Burgh died in 1271, and as he left no male issue his ample inheritance descended to his four daughters or their issue; of whom Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, married William Newport, of High Ercall in the county of Salop, Esq., and died before her father; Ankaret the

¹ Inq. 13 Hen. VI, No. 43. ² Blakeway's Sheriffs. ³ These are almost the same as the arms of Burgh of Gainsborough, having only the addition of a chevron as a mark of difference. ⁴ Blakeway's Sheriffs. ⁵ Sir William Clopton, of Clopton and Radbroke, in the county of Gloucester, Knight, who died on October 7, 1419 (Inq. 7 Hen. 5, No. 46) was the son and heir of John de Clopton by his wife Julian, daughter and heiress of John de Morehall by his wife Agnes daughter and eventual heiress of Sir Walter Beysin of Billingsley, in the county of Salop, Knight. Sir William Clopton married Joane daughter and coheir of Alexander Besford, of Besford, in the county of Worcester, Knight, and left, with a son Thomas who died S.P., two daughters, coheirs to their brother; of whom Agnes married 1st Roger Harewell, of Woolton Wawen, co. Warwick and 2ndly Thomas Herbert; and Joane married Sir John Burgh, of Mawddwy, Knight.

second, married John Leighton, of Leighton, in the same county, esq.; Isabella, the third, married Sir John Lingen, of Lingen in the county of Hereford, knt.; and the youngest daughter, also named Elizabeth, married Thomas Mytton, esq., of Shrewsbury. The Salop inquest stated that Sir John died on Saturday the eve of Pentecost (June 2), 1471, and that John Newport, son and heir of Elizabeth, one of his daughters and heirs, was of the full age of twenty-one years and more at the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary last past; Thomas Leighton, son and heir of John Leighton and Ankaret late his wife, another of his daughters, and heirs, was of the age of eighteen years and no more at the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord last past; Isabella, wife of John Lyngen, knt., third of the daughters and heirs of the aforesaid John Burgh, was of the age of thirty years and more; and Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Mitton, the fourth daughter and heir, was of the age of twenty-six years.¹

The estates of Sir John Burgh were not divided between his coheirs until some years after his death. Among the Loton Papers is preserved a singular letter on the subject of the partition, from Sir John Lyngen to Sir Thomas Leighton, written in 16 Henry VII. "To my ryght worshipfull cosen Sir Thomas Leghton [be] this delivered in all hast. Right worshipfull Syr, I recomaunde me unto you desyring to here of yo^r prosperitie, whiche Jh'u p'serve, Amen. Lettyng you to underston that my brother Mytton and my nevow John Newporte hath wrytten unto me to have partyc'on of all the londs that wher my fader in law Sir John Bourgh's, and my lady ys wyff: and I have wrytten unto them under this form; that we shold have a mettyng, and there to have a comynycac'on for the partyc'on of said londs, and to put the 4 partyse of the londs equally devydyd in waxe, and so to take the parts therof as fortune comythe: yf so be that they fynde eny defaute in the mackying of the books of partyc'on lett them amend hytt. Also I have poynted the plase of mettyng at Lodlow, the 7th day of the monythe of May, and yf so be that ye wylle be greable therto, praying yow to sende me in wrytting under yo^r seale whether

¹ Loton MSS.

ye wylle be greable or no, by my serv^t, the whyche shalle bring yow aonswere betwixte this and Estyr, as avoute the maryage betwixte my cosyn Acton and my dortyre Jane. No more unto yow at this tyme, but Jh'u p'serve, Amen. Yo^r lovyng wncull, John Lyngen, knyght."

The proposition contained in Sir John Lyngen's letter was apparently well received. The meeting doubtless took place at the time appointed and resulted in an indenture quadripartite, made the 12th day of May, 1501, "betweene John Lingen, knight, and Isabel his wif, one of the daughters and heires, as well of John Burghe, knight, as of Jane his wif, one of the daughters and heires of William Clopton, knight, on that one parte, and Thomas Leighton, knight, sonne and heire of Ankerete, on other of y^e daughters and heires of the saide John Burghe and Jane his wif on y^e second parte, and John Newport, esq., sonne and heire of Elizabeth, the third daughter and one of the heires of the same John Burghe and Jane his wif, on the third parte, and Thomas Mytton, Esq., late husband of Elizabeth, the fowerth daughter and one of the heires of the s^d John Burghe and Jane his wif, and William Mitton, sonne and heire of the s^d Thomas Mytton and heire of the same Elizabeth his wif on the fourth parte"; whereby the estates of the late Sir John Burgh and Joan Clopton his wife were divided between them in the following manner; namely, Sir John Lingen and Isabel his wife had "the lordshippes and manors of Yocelton and Stretton, wth the myll and the parke parte of the florest of Cawes, Kynn'ton, Sturchley, Wentnor wth the advowson of the churche, Gravenor, Overs, Shelve, and the fourth parte of Walton, wth in the countie of Salop, lands and hereditaments in Yockleton, Stretton, Cawes, Kynn'ton, Sturchley, Wentnor, Gravenor, Overs, Shelve, and the fourth parte of the lands and tenements in Walton, with the appurtenances in the sayd countie," as the portion which fell to the said Isabel as daughter and heiress of Sir John Burgh; and of her mother's inheritance "the lordshippes and manors of Rodbroke, Gretston, Wykelford, Upton Haselor, Exall, Binton, Barton, Betford, Benhall, and Mykleton, wth in the countie of Warr', lands and hereditaments in Rodbroke, Gretston, Wikelford, Upton Haselor, Exall, Binton,

Barton, Betford, Benhall, and Mykleton with the appurtenances."

Sir Thomas Leighton, Knight, had "the manors and lordshipps of Wattlesburgh, Bradsill, haye, Cardeston, Ballesley, Braginton, Lughton, and Woodcote, and the fourth parte of the lands and tenements in Walton aforesaid, in the county of Salopp" assigned to him as his portion of Sir John Burgh's estates, and "the lordshippe and manor of Clopton, wth appurt^s in the countie of Gloucester, lands and hereditaments in Clopton wthin the said countie," as his portion of his grandmother's inheritance.

John Newport had "the lordshipps and manors of Tregarn Owen, wth the members and advowsons of the churches ther in South Wales, Hem, Hynton, burgages howses and gardens in the towne of Shirewsberye, the mylle of Brocketon, the fourth parte of Walton, wthin the countie of Salopp, lands and hereditaments in Tregarn-Owen, Hem, Hynton, Sherosberye, Brockton, and the fourth parte of the lands and hereditaments in Walton aforesaid" as his portion of Sir John Burgh's estates, and "the lordshipps and manors of Byckemershe, in the countie of Warr', Crome Symond, Boughton, Kyrreswell, and Crome Abitot, wthin the countie of Worcestre; and the lands and hereditaments in Bickemshe, Crome Symond, Boughton, Kyrreswall, and Crome Abitot," as his portion of his grandmother's inheritance.

Thomas Mytton and William his son had "the lordships and manors of Mowthoy, wth advowsons in North Wales, Haberly with advowson, Haughton, Librokehurst, and the fourth parte of Walton, wthin the countie of Salop, the lands and hereditaments in Mowthoy, Dynas Mowthoy, with advowsons in North Wales, Haberley with advowson, Haughton, Librokehurst, and the fourth part of the lands and hereditaments with appurten^{ces} in Walton," as the portion of Sir John Burgh's estates which fell to the said William Mytton and "the lordshipps and manors of Morehall, Over Quyn-ton, Wykewanford, Halford, Camden, Birlingham, Powick, Holbestre, ten^{ts} burgages and gardens wth rents in Alsetr, Defford, and Brome, wthin the counties of Warr', Glowcestre, and Worcestre, lands and hereditaments in Morehall,

ov' Quynnton, Wykewanford, Halford, Camden, Birlingham, Powicke, Holbestr, Alsetr, Defford, and Brome, with appurt^s," as the portion which fell to him of his grandmother's inheritance. It was further agreed that Sir Thomas Leighton and his heirs should pay to the said Thomas Mytton and William his son, and to the heirs of the said William, an annual rent of 20s. payable out of the lordship and manor of Clopton aforesaid in order to make his portion equal to that of the other coheirs.¹

From this indenture it will be seen that the manors and lordships which were inherited from the Princes of South Wales descended to John Newport, the senior coheir of the Burghs.

William Newport, of High Ercall, in the county of Salop, Esq., the husband of Elizabeth de Burgh, was Sheriff of Shropshire in 1472-3.² Their son John Newport was Sheriff of Shropshire in 1491, 1501, and 1511.³

In the Pedigree of the Newport Family, drawn up in 1639, by Thomas Thompson, Esq., Lancaster Herald and Deputy to Sir William le Neve Clarendieux King at Arms, this John Newport is said to have brought a considerable body of troops to the assistance of King Henry VII, in 1487, against Lambert Simnel, the Pretender to the English Crown, and to have done good service at the battle of Stoke, fought on the 16th of June, in which the King was victorious, and the Earl of Lincoln slain.

On May 20, 1508, John Newporte, Lord of Travegarie (Trefgarn) demises to David ap Owen, of Llogh meyller, Esq., a mill called Travegarie is mille, to which are witnesses Thomas Leighton, Knight, John Lyngen, Knight, and William Mytton, Esq.⁴ John Newport, Esq., Lord of Trefgarie Owen, in the Lordship of Har'ford (Haverford West) died in October, 1512, Thomas Newport was his son and heir and 24 years of age and more on April 12, 1513, the date of the Haverford Inquisition *post mortem*.⁵ The wife of John Newport and mother of

¹ Hengwrt MSS. No. 119. ² & ³ Blakeway's Sheriffs. ⁴ Newport Evidences (being extracts from the Newport Deeds inter Blakeway MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford). ⁵ Inq. p. m. 4 Hen. VIII, inter Newport Evidences. This Haverford inquisition is not now to be found at the Record Office; but the Salop and Warwickshire inquisitions are both preserved there. In the Salop inquisition which was held on Nov. 3, 1512, the age of Thomas is stated as being then twenty-one years and more (Inq. 4 Hen. VIII, No. 198). In the Warwickshire inquisition, which was held at Alcester on April 26, 1514, his age is stated as twenty-two years and more (Inq. p. m.

his son Thomas was Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Swinnerton, Knight.¹

Thomas Newport, of High Ercall Esq., the son of John and Alice, was Sheriff of Shropshire in 1542-3, and, according to Blakeway, he was again appointed in November, 1549, to serve for the following year,² but he appears to have died about that time.³ He married Anne or Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Corbet, of Morton Corbet, co. Salop, Knight, by whom he had a numerous family.

Richard Newport, of High Ercall, Esq., their eldest son, was Sheriff of Shropshire in 1552, and again in 1558.⁴ He was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and was again made Sheriff of Shropshire in 1568.⁵ Sir Richard Newport greatly increased his estates by marrying Margaret, the only daughter and heiress of Lord Chief Justice Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight.⁶ By this marriage he acquired the manor of Eyton upon Severn, near Wroxeter, with a fair house on the banks of the river, and other estates in the same neighbourhood.

Sir Richard Newport died on September 12, 1570, and was buried at Wroxeter. His wife Margaret survived him many years, and dying in 1598 was buried by the side of her husband at Wroxeter. Her death is thus recorded in a MS. Shrewsbury Chronicle preserved in the Free School Library there and known as Dr. Taylor's Manuscript, under the year 1598. "This yere Lady Margaret Newport of Eyton, Wydowe, departid this present lyfe the 19th daye of August, and was buried at

6 Hen. VIII, No. 55). In such cases of discrepancy it is generally safe to assume the greater age to be the true one. These inquisitions are also at variance as to the day of the death of John Newport, Oct. 1 being the day given in the Salop inquisition, Oct. 4 in the Warwickshire, and Oct. 31 in the Haverford inquisition.

1 Newport Pedigree. 2 Blakeway's Sheriffs. 3 Collins' Peerage. 4 & 5 Blakeway's Sheriffs. 6 The family of Bromley is descended from Sir Walter Bromley, of Bromley, in the county of Stafford, Knight, who was living in the reign of King John. From him the numerous branches settled in the counties of Stafford, Salop, Chester, and Worcester, derive their origin. The family is remarkable for having produced many eminent lawyers; amongst whom were Sir George Bromley, Chief Justice of Chester, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor, in the same reign, and Sir Thomas, the Lord Chief Justice, all living about the same time. The Lord Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Bromley, was the second son of Roger Bromley by Jane daughter of Thomas Jennings. He lies buried with his wife in the church of Wroxeter, where there is a marble monument, to their memory, with recumbent figures, bearing the following inscription;—"Here lyethe Sr. Thomas Bromley, Knyght, whyche dyed beyng Lord Chyffe Justice of England, also beyng on of the executors to the Kyng of most famous memorye Henry the Eyghththe, whyche desesed the XV day of May, anno dni. 1555, and dame Isabell hys wyfe, the whyche desesed in the yere of our Lord . . . on whose sowles God av mer." Sir Thomas Bromley acquired the estate of Eyton-upon-Severn at the Dissolution of the Abbey of Shrewsbury.

Rocksetter the next daye followinge, being her will so; and the 29th day of August, all the bells in Shrewsbury dyd ringe in remembrance of hir: the whiche towne she lovid well, and she was beloved of the inhabitants therein. There was bestowid uppon the poore £20, besides many other places in the contrey very amply, she was a vertuous lady in all her lyfe tyme, and very good to the poore in towne, and contrey."¹

There is a handsome marble tomb in the Parish Church of Wroxeter, in memory of Sir Richard Newport and Dame Margaret his wife, surmounted by recumbent figures, and on three sides of the Sarcophagus are effigies of their numerous progeny, each with his proper coat of arms. On a plate let into the wall above are inscribed the following lines:

"Hic equitis tumulus domini tegit ossa Richardi
Newporti, portu navigat ille novo,
Navigat ille novo superûm jam sede receptus,
Testis erat locuples anchora tuta fides."

Round the monument is the following legend: "Here lyethe the bodies of Sr. Rychard Newporte, Knyghte, whiche dyed, beinge one of the Quenes Maty' Counsell in the Marches of Wales, and deceased the XIIth daye of September, in the yeare of oure Lord God, 1570, and Dame Margaret his wyef, which deceased the in the yeare of our Lord God" ² And on the monument is a shield of arms, quartering (for Newport) 1 Newport; 2 Grey of Codnor; 3 Ercall; 4 Burgh; 5 Mawddwy; 6 Corbet; 7 Clopton; 8 Beysin; and impaling Bromley.

By the inquisition taken at Shrewsbury on January 9, 1571, after the death of Sir Richard Newport, it was shewn that his father Thomas Newport, by indenture bearing date September 20, 1545, had settled upon him and Margaret his wife, in consideration of the dower which had been given her by her father, the manor of Hem, with the appurtenances, in the county of Salop; the manors or lordships of Crome and Careswell, in the county of Worcester; and all the lands and tenements of

¹ Blakeway's *Sheriffs of Shropshire*. Mr. Blakeway gives the day of Dame Margaret Newport's death as the 10th of August, but I have treated this as a printer's error, for the inquisition taken at her death records her to have died on the 19th (*Inq.* 41 Eliz. part 1, No. 7). ² The inscription omitting the date of Dame Margaret's death suggests that the monument was erected before that event.

the said Thomas Newport in the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, comprising the manor or lordship of Trawgar' Owen in the county of Pembroke, and certain messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, &c., in Bycketon, Walton, Wudland, Mylmore, Snayleton, Lamiston, Nistehoke, Westerdudwell, Gylbargh, Trawgar in the county of Pembroke; and all his free annual rent of £6 13s. 4d. with the appurtenances issuing out of the manor or Lordship of Iskarden with the appurtenances in the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen or either of them and all other his lands and other hereditaments whatsoever in Iskarden or elsewhere in the said counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen or either of them.¹ Sir Richard, in his will made in 1570, speaks of these same lands and tenements, as being the jointure of his wife and as being of the clear yearly value of £34 or thereabouts. Francis Newport, his son and heir was thirteen years, eleven months, two weeks, and three days of age at the date of the above-mentioned inquisition.

The said Francis Newport was knighted by King James I at Worksop manor, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, on April 21, 1603, together with Henry Grey, John Manners of Haddon, Henry Beaumont, Henry Pierrepont, and others.² Sir Francis Newport married Beatrix daughter of Rowland Lacon, of Willey and Kinlet, in the county of Salop, Esq., and died on March 15, 1623. Among the numerous possessions of which he died seised was a moiety of the manor of Gwynnionith Iscaerdyn and Dyhewyd with the appurtenances in the county of Cardigan, which were held of the King in free and common socage by fealty only and not by military service, and were of the annual value of 10s. and upwards. He also held the manor of Trawgerne Owen or Trawgerne West with the appurtenances, and certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Trawgerne Owen, Bickton, Walton, Woodland, Milmoore, Calcott, Snailton, Lamston, Nesthooke, Westerdudwell Walteson, Sutton and le Dale in the county of Pembroke,

¹ Inq. p.m. 13 Eliz. p. 2, No. 38. ² Nichols' Progresses of James I, Vol. I, p. 88. Sir Francis Newport in 1608 rebuilt the old Hall at High Ercall; which was afterwards garrisoned for King Charles I, and sustained a siege and severe assault.

which were held of the King as of his castle of Haverford West in the same county in free and common socage by fealty only and not by military service; and their annual value was £6 16s. 4d.

Sir Richard Newport, Knight, was the son and heir of the said Sir Francis, and upwards of 34 years of age at the time of his father's death;¹ having been previously knighted by King James I at Theobalds, on June 2, 1615.² Sir Richard Newport represented Shrewsbury in Parliament from January, 1621, to February, 1624. He afterwards sat as one of the Knights for the Shire; and in October, 1642, he was created Lord Newport, of High Ercall. Being stedfastly attached to his Royal Master, King Charles I, Lord Newport was a heavy sufferer for his loyalty; for he was himself fined in the sum of £3287 6s. 8d. by the triumphant party, and his son in the sum of £5284; he was also condemned to pay an annual sum of £170 to the puritanical clergy; indeed, so much were the rebels exasperated at his zeal for the Royal cause, that in 1644 they had ordered his estate to be sold outright. Being then full of years he was compelled to seek for repose in voluntary exile, and retiring to France he ended his days at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois,³ on the 5th of February, 1650, in the 80th year of his age. He married Rachel, daughter of Sir John Leveson, of Haling, in the county of Kent, Knight, by whom he had a family of seven daughters and two sons.

Francis Newport, his eldest son, was born on February 23, and baptized at Wroxeter on March 12, 1619. He was elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of Shrewsbury on April 16, 1640, soon after he had attained his majority. He manifested the same ardent loyalty as that which actuated his father, and ventured with rare but honourable gallantry to vote for the acquittal of Lord Strafford, at a time when such votes exposed those who gave them to no small personal hazard; the populace with their usual intolerance of sentiments differing from their own, denouncing all such, 56 in number, as Straffordians, and exposing their names to execration and insult by public placards. Mr. Francis Newport was soon expelled

¹ Inq. p.m. 21 Jac. I. ² Nicholl's Progresses of King James I, Vol. III, p. 92.

³ Blakeway's Sheriffs.

the house as a malignant, after which he appeared in arms against the Parliament and did great service to the Royal cause until he was overpowered and taken prisoner at Oswestry on the capture of that town by the Earl of Denbigh and Colonel Mytton on June 29, 1644. After he had obtained his liberty he still corresponded with Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon), and when the rising in North Wales was planned in 1659, he was considered one of the most zealous and powerful friends that the King had in that neighbourhood. On the restoration of King Charles II in 1660, Lord Newport was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Shropshire, and in 1668 he succeeded Sir Thomas Clifford as Comptroller of His Majesty's Household, being sworn of the Privy Council a few weeks afterwards. In 1672 he was made Treasurer of the Household, and on March 11, 1674, he was advanced by King Charles II to the title of Viscount Newport, of Bradford in the county of Salop. After the accession of King James II he continued for a time in office as Treasurer of the Household; but though he and his family had so greatly distinguished themselves in the cause of the Monarchy and proved their fidelity to the House of Stewart, yet the true welfare of his country held the first place in his heart. His conscience would not suffer him to concur in the arbitrary measures of James when they threatened the destruction of the religious as well as the civil liberties of the nation; and he was consequently dismissed from his office in February, 1686-7. Lord Newport took no pains to conceal his political feelings, and his dissatisfaction was so evident that he was removed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Shropshire, which was given to the famous Lord Chancellor Jeffries. In his treasurership of the Household he was succeeded by the Earl of Yarmouth. His connection with the court being now at an end he openly took the part of the seven Bishops who had been imprisoned by the King in 1688; and in the year 1692 we find him mentioned as one of those excepted from pardon by the abdicant Monarch in the declaration he published on the occasion of his intended descent upon England.

On May 11, 1694, Lord Newport was advanced by William and Mary to the rank of Earl of Bradford, having

been previously reinstated by them in his offices of Treasurer of the Household and Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire. Upon the accession of Queen Anne he was again sworn of the Privy Council, and continued in the Treasurership of the Household and the Lord Lieutenancy of the county of Salop, which last, when he reached the age of 84, was conferred upon his son Lord Newport. The Earl of Bradford died at his house at Twickenham on September 19, 1708, in the 89th year of his age, and was buried on October 4 at Wroxeter, near Eyton, his seat in Shropshire, where a marble monument records his honours and bears testimony to his virtues. He married Diana, daughter of Francis Russell, 4th Earl of Bedford, and sister of William the first Duke. She died on January 30, 1694, in the 74th year of her age, and was buried with her own family at Cheyneys in the county of Buckingham.

His son Richard Newport, the 2nd Earl of Bradford, was born on September 3, 1644. With a view to his intended marriage with Mary Wilbraham, who was to have £10,000 for her marriage portion, a deed of settlement was made on October 7, 1680, by his father Francis, then Viscount Newport, and Diana his wife, in which the several estates of the said Viscount are enumerated, and, among them, the manors of Ginnioneth-ys-kerdine and Dykewyde in the county of Cardigan, and the moiety of all messuages, lands, &c. within the said manors, the messuage of the said Viscount in Sneyleton in the parish of Dale and the county of Pembroke, and all messuages, mills, woods, lands, &c. in the counties of Cardigan and Pembroke; and a fine was passed in Hilary Term, 33 Charles II, in reference to the above settlement.¹ This is the last mention that I have met with of the Newport estates in South Wales. Richard, the 2nd Earl, during the lifetime of his father successively represented in Parliament—first the Borough of Shrewsbury and afterwards the county of Salop. He was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire in 1704, and, after his father's death, was sworn of the Privy Council on February 18, 1709. He was also Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Montgomeryshire,—all which

¹ Mr. Joseph Morris's MS.

honours he retained till the time of his death, which happened on June 14, 1723. He was married, on April 20, 1681, to Mary, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey in the county of Chester, Bart., by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Edward Mitton of Weston under Lizard in the county of Stafford, Esq., by whom he had six sons, who all died without issue, (of whom Henry and Thomas succeeded to the Earldom) and four daughters, of whom Mary the eldest died unmarried; Elizabeth the 2nd, married James Cocks of Worcester, Esq. (ancestor by a 2nd marriage of the present Lord Somers), by whom she had an only child, who died young; Anne, the 3rd, who died in 1752, married Sir Orlando Bridgeman of Castle Bromwich, in the county of Warwick, Baronet, whose issue eventually became the sole representatives of the Newports, Earls of Bradford; and Diana, the 4th daughter, married Algernon Coote, Earl of Mountrath, whose only son Charles Henry, last Earl of Mountrath died unmarried in 1802.

On the death of Richard, 2nd Earl, his eldest son Henry succeeded to the title and estates of the Newports. He died unmarried at his house in St. James's place, on December 23, 1734, and was buried on January 10, 1735, in King Henry the seventh's chapel in Westminster Abbey. The title passed upon his death to his brother Thomas, who had unhappily become imbecile in consequence of a fall from his horse in early life through which he received a concussion of the brain. Those estates to which Thomas, Earl of Bradford, nominally succeeded were managed during his life time by Trustees. He died at Weston, unmarried, on April 18, 1762, when the titles expired, and the estates which he had inherited from his mother descended to the sons of his sisters.

By deed dated on January 15, 1723-4, (10 George I) and by a fine passed in Hilary Term, 10 George I, to make the said deed operative, Henry, Earl of Bradford cut off and barred all the then existing entails of the family estates; and by his will, dated on May 8, 1730, he left all his estates in trust to John Hill, Esq., Sir Humphrey Briggs, Baronet, and George Middleton, Goldsmith, subject to any future appointment to be duly made by him and subject also to the payment of £10,000

which he gave to his said Trustees for the use of John Newport otherwise called John Harrison (his reputed son by Ann the wife of Ralph Smyth, Esq.),—the same estates to pass to his own right heirs. By a codicil, however, which he executed two days afterwards, namely on May 10 of the same year, he vested the said estates, in case the said John Newport should die without issue, in the same Trustees for the separate and personal use of the aforesaid Mrs. Ann Smyth, to be devised by her as she might think fit; provided that during the minority of the said John Newport, or until his death in case he should die under 21 years of age, she should apply such portion of the rents and profits of the said estates to his maintenance, &c., as she should think proper, retaining the residue thereof to her own sole and separate use; and by another codicil dated on May 16 of the same year he also left to her the £10,000 before mentioned.¹ On June 19, 1742, the said Mrs. Ann Smyth made her will, by which she gave all the estates left to her by the said Earl to Alexander Small, Surgeon, until John Newport above named should attain the age of 26 years, the whole to be to the use of the said Alexander Small, excepting such allowance as was directed, by the will and codicils of the said Earl, to be made for the maintenance, education, &c., of the said John Newport. And in case the said John Newport should die without issue, then the reversion and inheritance of the said estates she devised to the Right Honourable William Pulteney, Esq., afterwards Earl of Bath, his heirs and assigns for ever. The said Ann Smith died on August 31, 1742, without altering her will; and various proceedings were afterwards taken in chancery by the Earl of Bath, Mr. Small, and Mr. Wilson, her executors, in order to carry it out; and on December 17, 1751, the court declared her will to be proved. An act of Parliament was passed to enable the said John Newport alias Harrison to take the name of Newport. He afterwards became a lunatic, and a commission of lunacy was taken out against him.²

¹ Mr. Joseph Morris's MS. ² Ibid. It was about this time that the Earl of Bath received such praise and commendations for his patriotism in being the great promoter of a Bill for preventing the marriage of lunatics—a measure undoubtedly most excellent and wise—but whether his motives in bringing it forward at this time were solely

The Earl of Bath devised his reversion, expectant on the death of the said John Newport, to his brother General Harry Pulteney, who devised it to Frances the daughter of his cousin-german Daniel Pulteney and to her husband William Johnstone, Esq. (who afterwards took the name of Pulteney and became a Baronet), and to their heirs in tail male, with remainder to Harry, Earl of Darlington, son of Lady Grace Fitzroy (daughter of Charles, Duke of Cleveland by Anne Pulteney, daughter of Sir William Pulteney, of Misterton, in the county of Leicester, and Aunt to the before mentioned Earl of Bath), and his sons in tail male. The said Frances Pulteney died without issue male on June 1, 1782. The said John Newport died without issue on April 29, 1783.¹

patriotic may perhaps be questioned by the reader of these memoirs. The result of Mrs. Ann Smyth's bequest to Mr. Small and his consequent connection with the estates was an order from the court of Chancery made in 1753 declaring that there was due to the executors of the said Alexander Small deceased a sum of £36,884 11s. The whole of the debts due from the estate were stated to be £38,136 16. 1d., which the Earl of Bath paid and for which he took the estates in Mortgage; and by deeds of March 5 and 6, and March 12 and 13, 1755, the whole of the estates were vested in John Newport and the heirs of his body, with reversion in fee simple to William, Earl of Bath, his heirs and assigns (Mr. Joseph Morris's MS.)

1 On the death of John Newport a question arose as to the administration of his effects and the right to his personalty which was computed at £600,000; and the case was tried in Doctors' Commons in 1792, before Sir William Wynne. The said John Newport was born while his mother was separated from her husband Ralph Smyth, son of the Dean of Raphoe. He was educated by Lord Bradford as his son, assumed his family name, and received from him a splendid fortune. He never was recognised by Mr. Smyth, who appears to have known nothing about him, although there is not the same direct evidence of his birth having been concealed as in the Banbury case; but then he and his wife did not live together as Lord Banbury did. Smyth, having separated from his wife by deed dated May, 1711, lived in London, in a lodging in Holborn, till the time of his death. Mrs. Smyth, becoming Lord Bradford's mistress, resided either at the West End of London or at Hammersmith. On July 16, 1720, Smyth confirmed the former deed of separation, and gave his wife a power to dispose of her property as if she were a *femme sole*. Seven months after the execution of this deed, viz., on February 2, 1721, Mrs. Smyth was delivered of Mr. Newport in Martlet's court, Covent Garden. There is no proof whatever of her cohabitating with her husband between 1711 and the birth of the child. There is some evidence of access *subsequent to the year 1727*, six years after the birth of the child, and this, in the opinion of Sir William Wynne, corroborated the presumption of access before that time. However this may be, the only thing like access before 1720 is the circumstance that they both resided in London. Upon this alone, notwithstanding the non-recognition, and to all appearance, ignorance of the father, notwithstanding the clearest evidence that Mrs. Smyth lived with Lord Bradford as his mistress, and that the child was treated by him as his own in every respect, Sir William Wynne was of opinion—"That access must be presumed, in the absence of proof to the contrary; and that, from the proofs in the cause, the mother of Mr. Newport must be presumed to have had access to her husband at the time she became pregnant: consequently the child must be legitimate." Thus John Harrison, afterwards called John Newport, was made to be the legitimate son of his mother's husband, Ralph Smyth, whose relatives thus also obtained their portion of his personal estate (see Sir William Wynne's judgement in the case of Smyth versus Chamberlayne, given at great length in the appendix to the Gardner Peerage case, pp. 354-371).

TABLE VII.

William, son of Griffin, son of William de = Margaret (or Elianor), daughter of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, and sister and la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy; occurs 1352-3.

John de la Pole, Lord of Mawddwy and Trefgarn, and = Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Fulk Corbet, of Wattlesburgh and *jure uxoris* of Wattlesburgh, &c.; ob. Nov. 3, 1403.

Fulk, Lord of Mawddwy, Wattlesburgh, &c.; = Isabel . . . , remarried to Richard de Peshale; ob. Oct. 5, 1429.

Sir John Burgh, Knight, Lord of Mawddwy, = Jane, daughter and coheir of Sir William Clopton, of Clopton &c.; born June 12, 1414; ob. June 2, 1471.

William Newport, = Elizabeth, 1st daughter and coheir, dead in 1472.

of High Ercall, co. Salop, Esq.

John Leighton, = Ankaret, 2nd daughter and coheir; dead in 1472.

of Leighton, co. Salop, Esq.

Sir John Lyngen, = Isabella, 3rd daughter and coheir; aged 30 and more in 1472.

of Lyngen, co. Hereford, Knight; ob. 1522.

Thomas Mytton, = Elizabeth, 4th daughter and coheir; aged 26 in 1472; dead in 1501.

Esq., of Shrewsbury; ob. 1504.

John Newport, Esq., son and heir; aged 21 and more in 1472.

Thomas Leighton, son and heir, aged 18 in 1472.

John Lyngen, son and heir.

William Mytton, Esq., son and heir; ob. July 16, 1513.

TABLE VIII.

William Newport, of High Ercall, co. = Elizabeth, eldest daughter and coheir of Salop, Esq.; living in 14 Edw. IV. Sir John Burgh, Knight; dead in 1472.

John Newport, of High Ercall, Esq., son and = Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Swinnerton, Knight. heir; Lord of Trefgarn; ob. Oct. 31, 1512.

Thomas Newport, of High Ercall, Esq., son and heir; = Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, Knight. 24 years of age and more April 12, 1513; ob. circa 1549.

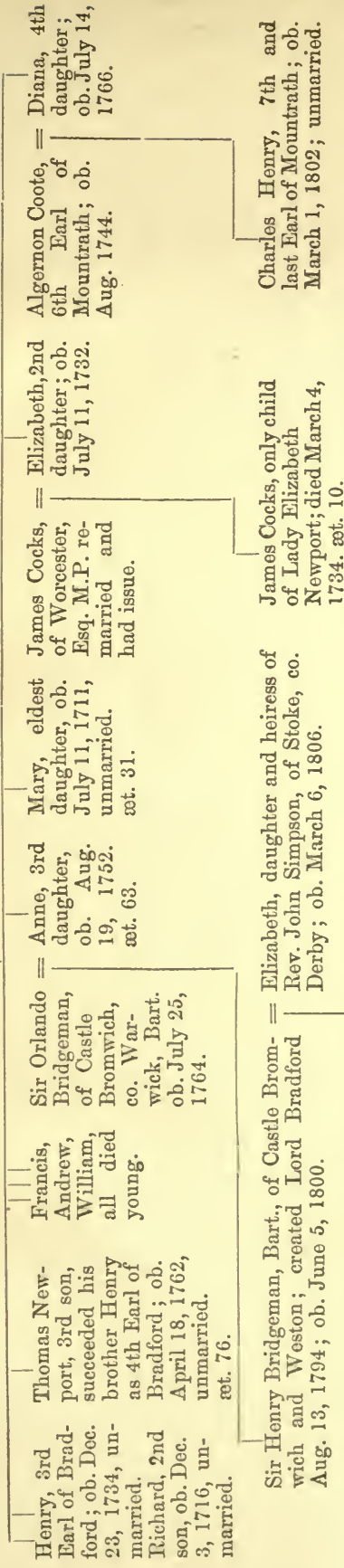
Sir Richard Newport, of High Ercall, = Margaret, daughter and heiress of Lord Chief Justice Knight, son and heir; ob. Sept. 12, 1570. Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight; ob. Aug. 10, 1598.

Sir Francis Newport, of High Ercall, Knight, = Beatrix, daughter of Rowland Lacon, of Willey son and heir; ob. March 15, 1623. and Kinlet, co. Salop, Esq., ob. March, 1617.

Sir Richard Newport, Knight, son and heir; created Lord = Rachael, daughter of Sir John Leveson, of Haling, Newport of High Ercall, Oct. 14, 1642; ob. Feb. 5, 1650. co. Kent, Knight; married at Haling, Feb. 1614.

Francis, Lord Newport, created Viscount Newport March 11, = Diana, daughter of Francis Russell, 4th Earl of Bedford; ob. Jan. 30, 1694. 1674, and Earl of Bradford May 11, 1694; ob. Sept. 19, 1708.

Richard Newport, 2nd Earl of = Mary, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Wilbraham, Bart., of
Bradford; ob. June 14, 1723. Woodhey, co. Chester, and Weston, co. Stafford; ob. Dec. 3, 1737.



Orlando Bridgeman, 2nd Lord Bradford, created Viscount New- = Lucy Elizabeth, eldest daughter and coheir of George
port and Earl of Bradford Nov. 30, 1815; ob. Sept. 7, 1825. Byng, 4th Viscount Torrington; ob. Sept. 20, 1844.

George Augustus Frederick Henry Bridgeman, = Georgina Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas
2nd Earl of Bradford, ob. March 22, 1865. Moncreiffe, of Moncreiffe, Bart., ob. Oct. 12, 1842.

Orlando George Charles Bridgeman, 3rd Earl of Bradford, born April 24, 1819, senior coheir of Sir John Burgh, of Mawddwy, Trefgarn, and
Gwynnionith, Knight.

TABLE IX.

John Leighton, of Leighton, co. Salop, Esq. ob. = Anchoret, 2nd daughter and coheir of Sir John Burgh, Knight; dead in 1472.

Sir Thomas Leighton, of Leighton and Wattlesborough, co. Salop, = Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers Knight, son and heir; born 1443; ob. circa 10 Hen. VIII.

John Leighton, of Wattlesburgh, Esq., son and heir; ob. 1582. = Joyce.

Sir Edward Leighton, of Wattlesburgh, Knight; ob. 1593, 36 Eliz. = Anne Darrell.

Thomas Leighton, Esq., son and heir; ob. 42 Eliz. = Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Gerard, Knight.

Robert Leighton, Esq., son and heir; ob. 1625. = Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Devereux, of Castle Bromwich, co. Warwick, Bart.; ob. 1621.

Edward Leighton, Esq., son and heir; ob. 1636. = Abigail, daughter and heir of William Stephens, Esq., of Shrewsbury; ob. 1630.

Robert Leighton, Esq., son and heir; ob. 1689. = Gertrude, daughter of Edward Baldwin, of Diddlebury, co. Salop, Esq.; ob. 1683.

Edward Leighton, of Wattlesburgh, Esq., son and heir, created a Baronet March 2, 1692; ob. 1711. = Dorothy, daughter of Sir Job Charlton, of Ludford, co. Hereford, Knight; ob. 1688.

Sir Edward Leighton, Bart., son and heir; born 1681; ob. 1756. = Rachel, daughter of Sir William Forester, of Watling Street, co. Salop, Knight.

Anna Maria, only child of Richard Mytton, of Halston, co. Salop, Esq., by his wife Letitia, sister and sole heir of Thomas Owen, of Condover co. Salop, Esq.; ob. 1750; 1st wife.

Sir Charlton Leighton, = Emma, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Maude, Bart. 2nd wife. ob. 1780.

Baldwin Leighton, 2nd son; born in 1717, ob. . . .

= Anne, daughter of Captain Thomas Smyth, of Main, co. Lowth, son of the Very Rev. William Smyth, Dean of Raphoe.

TABLE X.

Sir John Lingen, of Sutton, co. = Isabel, 3rd daughter and coheir of Sir John Burgh, of Mawddwy, Hereford, Knight; ob. 1522.		Sir John Lingen, of Sutton, co. Hereford, and = Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas Mile-Radbroke, co. Gloucester, Knight; ob. 1531.	
John Lingen, of Sutton and Stoke Edith, Esq., Zet. 40 in 1531. = Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Englefield, of Englefield, co. Berks, K.B. Speaker of the House of Commons and Chief Justice of Chester; married in 1530.		William Lingen. = Cicellie, daughter of Anthony Ingram of Wolverhampton, co. Stafford.	
John Lingen, Esq., son and heir, = Isabella, daughter of John and Sibell Ruynton, of Stretton, co. Hereford.		Edward Lingen, who succeeded = Blanch, daughter of on the death of his cousin, Mrs. Sir Roger Bodenham, Shelley, to the estates of Sutton of Rotherwas, co. and Stoke Edith; Sheriff of Hereford, K.B. Herefordshire in 1618.	
Jane Lingen, daughter and sole heiress, married William Shelley, of Michelgrove co. Sussex, Esq., who was attained in 1583 and executed in the conspiracy to liberate Mary, Queen of Scots. Mrs. Shelley, his widow, was also imprisoned, but afterwards allowed to enjoy her estate at Sutton. She seems to have been also permitted to hold for her life the estates in Shropshire and Gloucestershire, which her ancestors had inherited from Sir John Burgh, but these passed away, at her death (without issue) in 1610, by the grant of King James to Sir Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall.		Sir Henry Lingen, = Alice, daughter of Sutton Lingen, 2nd son; Sir Walter Pye, of the purchased Meend, the estate of Rad-Knight; Attorney General of the Court of Wards. from the Prestons.	
Edward, died young.		Captain = Alice, surviving daughter and coheir.	
Henry, died unmarried.		John Unett, of = Frances, surviving daughter and co-heir.	
William, died unmarried.		Castle Frome, co. Hereford; and <i>jure uxoris</i> of Freen's court.	
		Mary, daughter and coheir, married Robt. Dobyns, of Evesbatch, Barrister at Law, but died 1719, S.P.	
		Cicellie died July 30, 1712, 9, 1689, unmarried.	
		Blanch died July 30, 1712, 9, 1689, unmarried.	
		Elizabeth, died unmarried.	
		Joan, died unmarried.	
		Roger Lin- = Rachel, daughter of Thomas Willis, M.D. Physician in ordinary to King Charles II.	

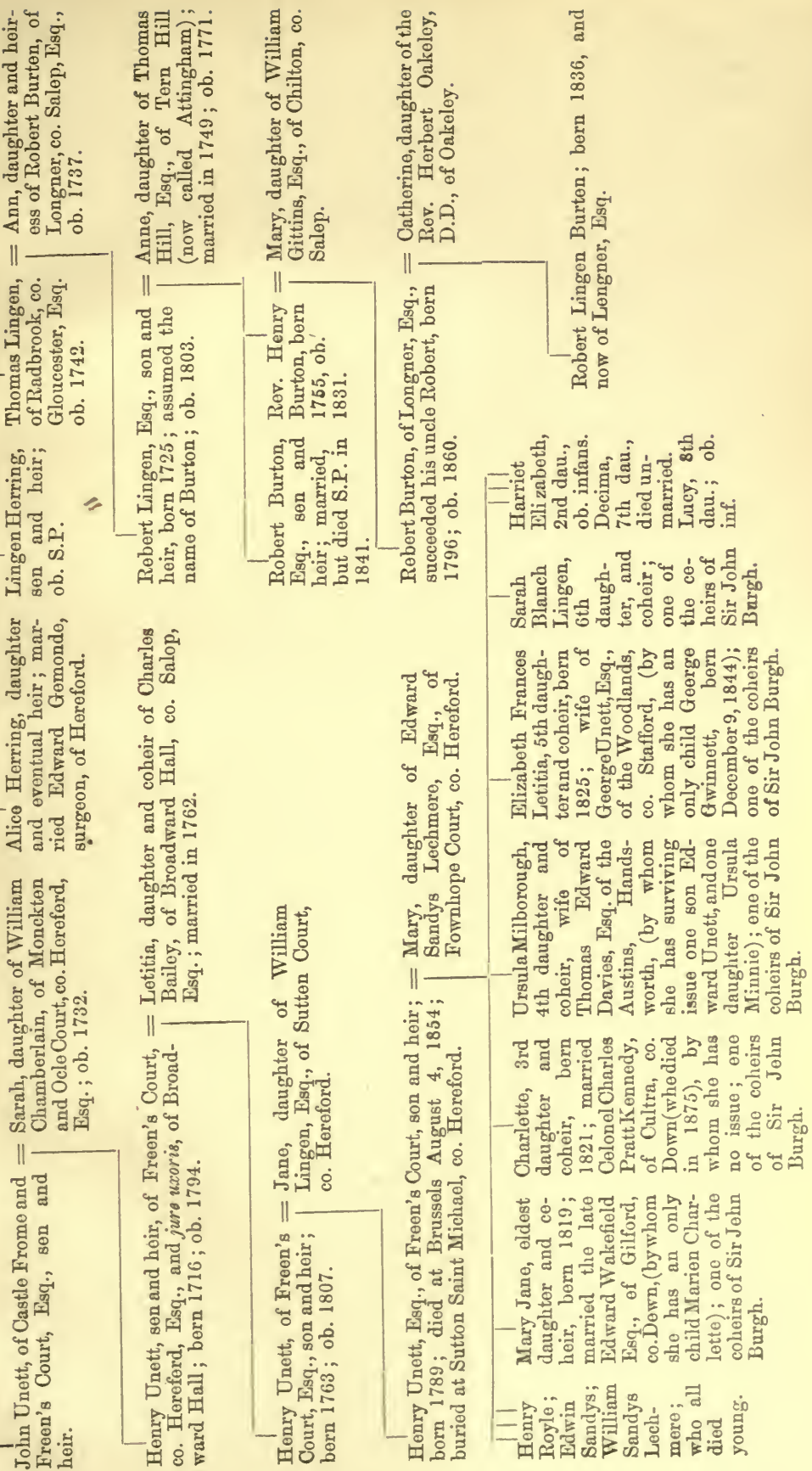


TABLE XI.

Thomas Mytton, Esq., of Shrewsbury; ob. 1504. = Elizabeth, 4th daughter and coheir of Sir John Burgh, Knight; dead in 1501.

William Mytton, Esq., of Shrewsbury, son and heir; = Cicely, daughter of Sir Henry Delves, Knight. Lord of Mawddwy; ob. 1513.

Richard Mytton, Esq., of Shrewsbury, son and heir; = Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Grey, of Enville, Knight. ob. 1591, at the age of about 100.

Edward Mytton, of Halston, co. Salop, Esq., eldest son; = Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Greville, of Milcote, Knight. ob. V.P. March 10, 10 Eliz.

Edward Mytton, of Halston, Esq., son and heir; ob. 1583, = Anne, daughter of Reginald Corbet, of Stoke upon Tern, Esq. in the lifetime of his grandfather.

Richard Mytton, of Halston, Esq., son and heir, = Margaret, daughter of Thomas Owen, of Condover, Esq. and heir to his great grandfather; ob. . . .

Thomas Mytton, of Halston, Esq., son and heir; a = Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Napier, General in the Parliamentary Forces; ob. 1656.

Richard Mytton, of Halston, Esq., son and heir; ob. . . . = Rebecea, daughter of Roger Kynaston, of Hordley, Esq.

Richard Mytton, of Halston, Esq., son and heir; = Arabella, daughter of Sir John Houlton, Knight. M.P. for Shrewsbury in six Parliaments; ob. . . .

Richard Mytton, of Halston, Esq., son and heir ; = Letitia, daughter and heiress of Roger Owen, of Condovery, Esq.
ob. 1731. S.P.M.

Anna Maria, only child, married Sir Charlton Leighton, of Wattlesburgh, Bart., whose descendants are the right heirs of Elizabeth, 4th daughter of Sir John Burgh. See Table IX.

John Mytton, of Halston, Esq., = Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Davenport, Esq., of Davenport House.
ob. . . .

John Mytton, of Halston, Esq., = Rebecca, daughter of Robert Pigott, of Chetwynd, Esq.
son and heir ; ob. 1783.

John Mytton, of Halston, Esq., = Harriet, daughter of William Mostyn Owen, of Woodhouse, Esq.
son and heir ; ob. 1798.

John Mytton, of Halston, Esq., = Caroline Mallet, daughter of Thomas Giffard, of Chillington, Esq., ob. Oct. 15, 1841.
son and heir, who sold the Barony of Mawddwy ; ob. 1834.

John Fox Mytton, Esq., son = Martha Gardner.
and heir ; sold the estate at Halston ; ob. Feb., 7, 1875, aged 51.

John Gardner Mytton, eldest son.

The said Harry, Earl of Darlington died on December 8, 1792, leaving William Harry, Earl of Darlington, his only son. The said Sir William Pulteney, Bart., the husband of Frances Pulteney, succeeded to the Newport estates after the death of John Newport, and died in May, 1805, when the said estates devolved upon William Harry, Earl of Darlington, afterwards Duke of Cleveland, father of the present Duke who now possesses them. The ancient estates of the Newports, including those which they had inherited from the Princes of South Wales, were thus passed away from their right heirs; but the manors of Weston under Lizard and Walsall in the county of Stafford, and the other estates of Mary, Countess of Bradford, passed after the death of her son Thomas, the last Earl, to the sons of her two surviving daughters, Anne and Diana, and eventually devolved upon the issue of Sir Orlando Bridgeman and Lady Anne Newport, the elder of the two. Their son, Sir Henry Bridgeman, Baronet, as nearest heir to the Newports, was, on August 13, 1794, created Baron Bradford, of Bradford in the county of Salop; and his son Orlando was subsequently raised to the dignity of Viscount Newport and Earl of Bradford on November 30, 1815. His son, George Augustus Frederick Henry, the 2nd Earl, died on March 22, 1865; and his son, Orlando George Charles Bridgeman, the present and 3rd Earl of the 2nd creation, is now the sole representative of the Newports of High Ercall, and the senior coheir of Sir John Burgh, of Mawddwy and Trefgarn, descended from Margaret or Elianor the younger daughter of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, the last direct heir male of the Princes of South Wales.

The other three co-heirs of Burgh of Mawddwy are represented in the *male* line by Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., Robert Burton, of Longner, co. Salop, Esq. (whose great grandfather Robert Lingen, of Radbrook, Esq., assumed the name of Burton on succeeding to his mother's estates), and John Gardner Mytton, son of the late John Fox Mytton, Esq., all of which families were until lately in possession of estates which descended to them from Sir John de Burgh. But the right heirs of Ankaret de Burgh the 2nd daughter of Sir John and her husband John

Leighton, as also of Elizabeth de Burgh the youngest daughter and her husband Thomas Mytton, will be the representatives of Anna Maria and Annabella, the two surviving daughters of Sir Charlton Leighton, Baronet, by his wife Anna Maria, only child of Richard Mytton, of Halston, Esq., as will be shewn by the annexed pedigree.

The representatives of Anna Maria Leighton, the elder daughter, who married Nicholas Smythe, of Nibley, co. Gloucester, Esq., are

I. (a) The Rev. George Augustus Salusbury, eldest surviving son and heir of Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, Knight, of Brynbella, co. Flint, by his wife Harriet, daughter of Edward Pemberton, Esq., by his wife Anna Maria Emma Smythe, eldest daughter of the said Nicholas Smythe and Anna Maria his wife; and (b) Letitia Caroline, the other daughter of the said Mr. Edward Pemberton and his wife Anna Maria Emma Smythe.

II. Letitia Philippa and Augusta Sophia, the surviving issue of the Rev. Charles Leicester, son and heir of Henry Augustus Leicester, Esq. and his wife Sophia Letitia Smythe, 2nd daughter of the said Nicholas Smythe and Anna Maria Leighton; of whom Letitia Philippa married the Rev. David G. Paterson, Vicar of Chelford, co. Chester, and Augusta Sophia married Monsieur Labienvenue, a landed proprietor in Normandy.

III. Rev. Charles Cholmondeley, eldest surviving son of the Rev. Charles Cowper Cholmondeley, Rector of Hodnet, son and heir of Charles Cholmondeley Esq. and his wife Caroline Elizabeth Smythe 3rd daughter of the said Nicholas Smythe and Anna Maria Leighton.

IV. Peter Fleming Frederic Leicester, Esq., eldest son of the Rev. Frederic Leicester, son and heir of Charles Leicester, Esq. and his wife Louisa Harriet Smythe, 4th daughter of the said Nicholas Smythe and Anna Maria Leighton his wife.

The sole representative of Annabella, the other surviving daughter of the said Sir Charlton Leighton and Anna Maria Mytton, is her only son and heir, the present William Lacon Childe, of Kinlet, co. Salop, Esq.

The right heirs of Isabel de Burgh, the 3rd daughter of

Sir John de Burgh, and her husband Sir John Lingen, Knight, will be

I. The representatives of Frances, daughter and coheir of the said Sir Henry Lingen, Knight, who married John Unett of Castle Frome, co. Hereford, and whose great great grandson, Henry Unett of Freen's Court, co. Hereford, Esq., died in 1854, leaving five surviving daughters his coheirs, namely Mary Jane, widow of Edward Wakefield, Esq., of Gilford, co. Down; Charlotte, widow of Colonel Charles Pratt Kennedy, of Cultra, co. Down; Ursula Milborough, wife of Thomas Edward Davies, Esq., of the Austins, Handsworth; Elizabeth Frances Letitia, wife of George Unett, of the Woodlands, co. Stafford, Esq.; and Sarah Blanche Lingen, who is unmarried.¹

And, II. The descendants, if any, of Alice, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Lingen, Knight, and wife of Captain Herbert Herring, by whom she had a son Lingen, who died without issue, and a daughter Alice married to Edmund Gomonde, Surgeon, of Hereford.²

¹ & ² Ex inf. Mrs. George Unett.

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ERRATA.

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13, line 18	<i>For this, read his.</i>
44, line 8 of Note	<i>For 37, read 39.</i>
275, line 29	<i>For 1271 read 1471.</i>
287, line 30	<i>For August read October.</i>





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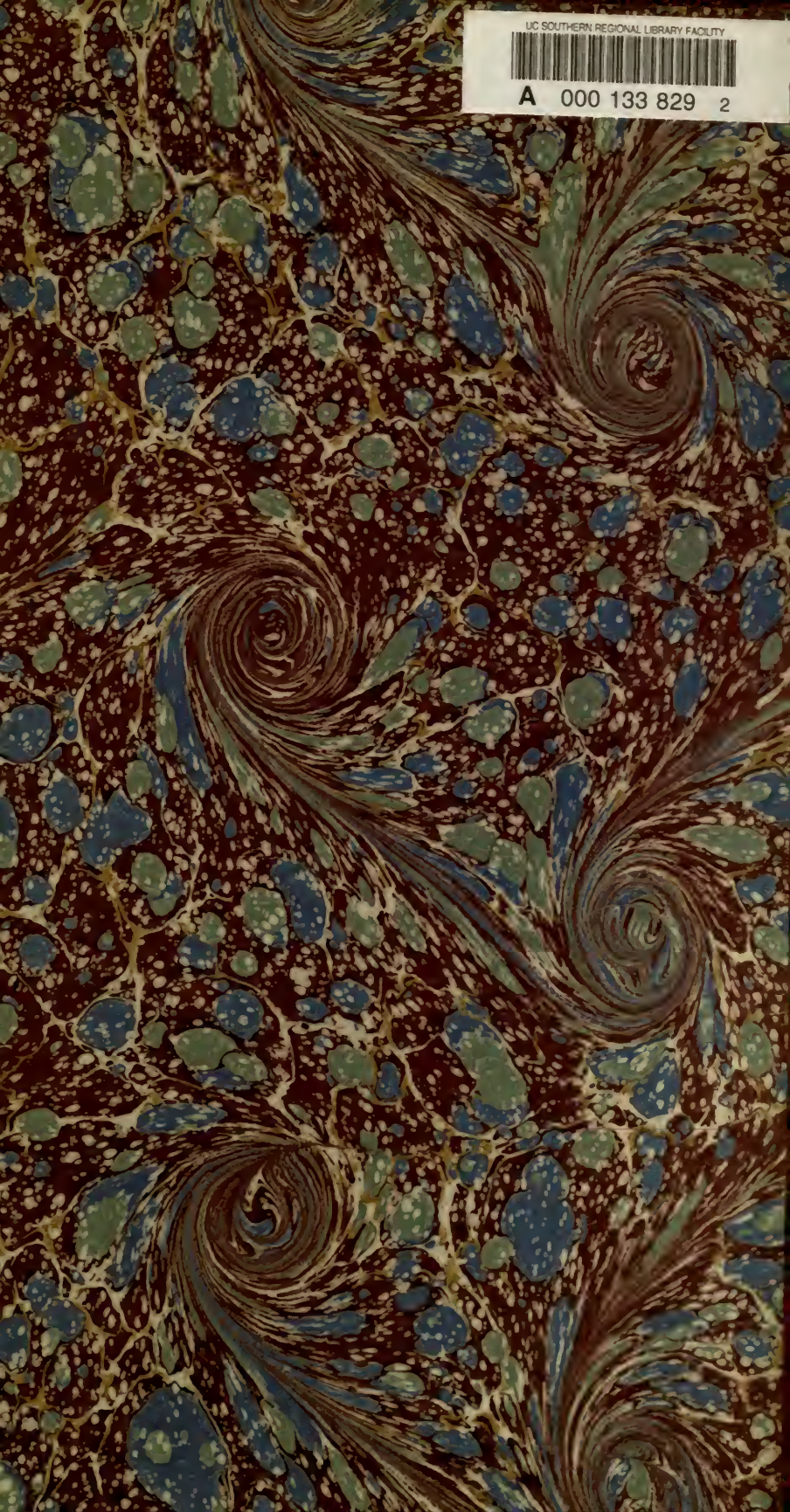
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